

A

SYSTEM OF DIVINITY,

Ecclesiastical History, and Morality;

COLLECTED

From the WRITINGS of Authors of various Nations and Languages, and of the noblest Doctors of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH; which opens a Passage almost to the whole Discipline of the JEWS and CHRISTIANS.

Designed also to teach the Reader a perfect Skill in HEBREW, GREEK, and LATIN.

By GEORGE ADAMS, M. A.



LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold by
S. BLADON, in *Paternoster Row*; W. OWEN, in *Fleet-street*;
and J. WALTER, at *Charing Cross*

M.DCC.LXVIII.

ИОИТО ПОЯТИИ

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INTRODUCTION.

HERE having been several Systems of Divinity published by ingenious and learned Divines, a Work of this Nature might perhaps seem superfluous; I thought it therefore convenient to give the Reader a more particular Account of it, that it may appear one of this Kind is not only not at this Time at all extant, but very much wanted in the Christian World.

'Tis very well known that of late Years various Sects, Schisms, and Disputes upon several Articles and Topics of Religion have divided it, that weak, though well-meaning Christians have been so perplexed by them, as not to be able to know where to fix their Faith; or what Opinion, Sect, or Party they had best to follow. In order therefore, as much as I am able, to unite the Minds of Men professing one Religion, in the most usually controverted Points of it; especially such as have of late made the greatest Noise among us; as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Divinity of Christ, Free-will, Election and Reprobation, the Resurrection of the Dead, and a future State, and the Knowledge and Belief of the Antients and Moderns on those Points, and other Doctrines, I have compiled this System; in which I have not barely confined myself to the Opinions of *English* Authors, and their Explications of the several Texts of Scripture, in the Proof of any Doctrine, or Decision of any Controversy; but have likewise taken to my Assistance the Opinions and Explications of Foreign Divines, Schoolmen, Fathers, and Poets in their own several Languages; among the French, as *Cardinal Du Perron, Bona, Durandus, Mons. St. Evremond Bael, L'arroque Basnage*; likewise the Dutch and Italian and other Foreign Writers; likewise of the *Jewish* Writers, *Maimonides, D'Kimchi, &c.* the *Talmud*, and in particular that Part of it called the *Mischna*, the chief Doctrines and Mysteries whereof were said by the Jews to have been revealed by God himself to *Rabbi Juda*, surnamed the *Saint*; who is thought by some to have composed it about the second Century, though others bring it down to a much later Time. I have likewise taken in the Determinations of the antient and modern Rabbins of various religious Controversies, who, as *Serenhusius*, the *Hebrew* Professor at *Amsterdam* observes, interpreted Scripture in such a manner, as to change the literal Sense into a more noble and spiritual, the *Pentateuch*, both *Samaritan* and *Hebrew*, and *Chaldean*, and *Affyrian* Characters, and the *Jewish Cabbala*, a

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Science delivered by Revelation to the antient *Jews*, and serving for the Interpretation of the Books, both of Nature and Scripture.

And for the Benefit of the *English* Reader, I have translated the several Passages into *English* from their several Originals, which will not only furnish him with a System of speculative and practical Divinity, but will likewise assist him in the understanding of those Languages; so useful, as well for Travellers into foreign Nations, as Divines, and Persons of other Stations and Employments in our own and other Nations.

The Ancients had much better Advantages and Opportunities of understanding, and did understand the Scriptures better than the Moderns, and did interpret them with more Judgment; but many Controversies and Disputes have arisen thro' bad Translations of their Writings, both whole Words and Sentences, which have introduced so many Sects, Schisms, and Parties, even where all profess but one Religion. To remedy this likewise, I have undertaken this Work, where I have given the Reader the true Originals, and true Translations of those Words and Phrases; the mistaking of which has given Rise to the several Controversies in Religion.

And as Poetry has always been held in the highest Esteem and Reputation by Persons of the highest Rank in all Ages and Nations of the World, and practised by Persons of the most exalted Piety and elevated Genius, to the most noble and excellent Purposes, to exalt the glorious Works of the Creator; to praise Virtue, and discourage Vice; (witness the Song of *Deborah* and *Barak*, Judg. v. the first poetic Performance we meet with in the Holy Scriptures) to withdraw the Veil from Truth and Error, which Ignorance, Prejudice, Obsturacy, Superstition, and bad Education have cast upon them: so I have not failed to apply through my Work, several Passages from the Writings of the most eminent among them, in Proof of the several Doctrines, or Opinions on controversial Points, as they suit my Purpose, always translating them from their Originals into the *English* Tongue.

There is yet this farther Difference between this, and all other Books bearing the same or like Title, that what others have delivered in large Volumes, I have abridged and comprehended in as few Sheets as possible.

One thing more I must not here forget, and that is, to let the Reader know, that the Book which I proposed publishing some Years ago, upon the Sacrament, and some other Points, and which several Bishops, Clergy, and Gentlemen were pleased to give their Promise to buy when published, but dropped, makes a Part of this Work.

SERMON

S E R M O N I.

Life and Immortality brought to Light by the Gospel.

2 TIM. CHAP. I. VER. 10.

Our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished Death,
and brought Life and Immortality to Light
by the Gospel.

THE Consideration of the Soul's appearing in all Reason to be naturally immortal, afforded great Pleasure and Satisfaction to the wisest and soberest Men in the Heathen World, from the bare Contemplation of the Thing itself.

“ Nobody, saith Cicero, shall drive me away from this Hope of Immortality; and if I in this err, that I believe the Souls of Men to be immortal, I freely err, nor will I ever suffer this error to be wrested from me as long as I live.” Secondly, It was a great Support to them under Calamities and Sufferings, especially such as Men brought upon themselves by being virtuous. With these and the like Contemplations Socrates being persuaded he neither got an Advocate at the Suit for his Life, nor was suppliant to his

B " Judges

Judges for Mercy ; and on the last Day of his Life, discoursed of many Things about this very Matter ; and a few Days before, when he could easily have been delivered out of Prison, he would not ; for so he thought and so he discoursed, that when Souls depart out of their Bodies, they go two different Ways ; the Righteous to Happiness, the Wicked to Misery. *Thirdly*, It filled them with great Hopes, and comfortable Expectations of what was to come hereafter : “ Oh happy Day ! says “ the good Man in Cicero, when I shall go to “ that blessed Assembly of Spirits, and depart out “ of this miserable World.” *Lastly*, It was a mighty Encouragement to the Practice of all moral Virtue, and particularly to take Pains in subduing the Body, and bringing it in Subjection to the Reason of the Mind. “ We ought to spare no Pains, says Plato, “ to obtain Virtue and Wisdom in this Life ; for “ the Prize is noble, and the Hope great.” Again, having reckoned up the temporal Advantages of Virtue in the present World, he adds ; “ but we “ have not yet mentioned the greatest and chiefest “ Rewards which are proposed to Virtue, for what “ can be great in a small Time ? the whole Age “ of the longest-lived, being inconsiderable in “ Comparison of Eternity.” And again, “ these “ Things are nothing, either in Number or Great- “ ness, in Comparison of the Things which attend “ every one hereafter.” And, to mention no more Places ; “ they, faith he, for the Sake of Victory in “ such Matters as Wrestling, Running, and the like, “ think not much to abstain : and shall our Scholars “ be impatient to persevere, for the Sake of a much “ nobler Prize ?” Words very like those of St. Paul, *1 Cor. ix. 24.* *Know ye not that they which run in a Race, run all ? And every Man that striveth for the Mastery, is temperate in all Things : Now, they do*

do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible.

Among the Greeks, to whom Learning was brought from the Chaldeans and Egyptians, they who had some Hope of another Life after this, spoke very doubtfully concerning it, as is evident from the Discourses of *Socrates*, from the Writings of *Tully*, *Seneca*, and others ; of *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædon* : “ Now I would have you to understand, “ that I hope to go to good Men ; which never- “ theless I should not too much have affirm- “ ed.” And afterwards, “ If these Things I am “ speaking of, should prove true, it is excellent to “ believe them ; but if there be nothing after “ Death, yet I shall always be the less concerned “ for the present Things of this Life ; and this my “ Error will not continue long, for that might be “ bad, but will shortly perish.” And *Tertullian* concerning the Soul : “ From such a firm Steadi- “ ness and Goodness of Mind, did that Wisdom of “ *Socrates* proceed, and not from any certain Dis- “ covery of the Truth.” The same is observed of *Socrates*, in the Exhortation among the Works of *Justin* ; of *Tully*, in his first *Tusculan Question*. “ Declare to me first, if you can, and it be not “ troublesome, that Souls remain after Death : “ Then, if you cannot hold this, for it is hard, “ teach how there is no Evil in Death. And I “ know not what brave Thing they have got by it, “ who teach, when the Time of Death comes, “ they shall entirely perish ; which if it should “ be, for I dispute nothing about it, what Ground “ of Joy or Glorying does it afford ?” And after- “ ward, “ Now suppose the Soul should perish with the “ Body, can there be any Pain, or can there be “ any Sense at all in the Body after Death ? “ Nobody will say so.” *Laetantius*, Book vii. Ch.

8. cites this Saying out of the same *Cicero*, spoken after a Dispute about the Soul: Which of these two Opinions is true, God only knows. *Seneca*, Ep. lxiv. " And perhaps, if the Report of wise " Men be true, and some Place receives us, who " we think perishes, is only sent before." And others; *Justin Martyr* says in general, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, " The Philosophers know no- " thing of these Things, nor can they tell what " the Soul is."

2. I shall give some Account by what Obligations the Jews thought themselves bound to the Observance of the Civil and Religious Duties of their Law; whether they performed them in Hopes of an eternal Recompence in a future Life, or only of temporal Rewards; such as a fruitful Land, a numerous Progeny, Victory over their Enemies, a long and healthful old Age, and Hope of their Posterity's surviving them, &c. which were all the Promises offered in their Law, taken in its strict and literal Sense: Yet, by Conclusion and consequential Implication, it was reckoned as a Truth which may be deduced from that Law, that there is an eternal Recompence both of Reward and Punishment; insomuch that *Maimonides* and *Judas Zabarah*, two learned Jews, tell us, this Truth was a Principle founded on that Law; and they were esteemed in their Time as Infidels, who did not believe so, says the former, ותחיית המתים .*

קעדרא .*

But as to the Resurrection of the Dead, it is a Foundation from the Foundations of the Law of *Moses*, which if a Man believes not, he hath neither Share or Place in the Religion of the Jews;

* See *Pocock's Parta Mosis*, p. 157.

that

that belongs only to those who excel in Virtue: For it is expressly said in *Berejith Rabba*, “ The “ letting down of Rain is for the Just and Unjust, “ but the Resurrection of the Dead is of the Just “ only.” But how are the Unjust to live, since they are dead while they live? For the Wicked, while they live are called dead; but the Just even after Death are accounted living; and the latter: *צדין שתדע כי*†.

We ought to know that the Foundation of Faith concerning the Resurrection, is out of the Law. But if any one with a firm Faith believeth the Resurrection of the Dead, and yet believeth it not from the Law, behold he is nevertheless like an Infidel.

The holy Men of old were entitled to a Recompence of Reward, though not by the *Mosaic* Law or Covenant, though the Undertaking and Observance of it was to those whom it concerned a Condition of Eternal Life; for that induced none to undertake the Observance of it, by the Promise of Eternal Life, and a better Resurrection, made to the Observance of it.

The *Jews* in general believed a future State; yet, according to the Letter of the Law, they had no express Revelation made to them concerning it; at least, the Motives to Obedience were nowhere distinctly founded upon it; nor does it appear expressly from any Article in the *Mosaic* Covenant, that God was, by Virtue of it, obliged to reward their (the *Jews*) Obedience in a future State.

The Seventh Article of our Religion says, “ The “ *Old Testament* is not contrary to the *New*; for, “ both in the *Old* and *New Testament* everlasting “ Life is offered to Mankind by *Christ*, who is

* See *Pocock's Not. Miscel.* p. 98.

“ the

“ the only Mediator between God and Man :
 “ Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign
 “ that the Old Fathers did look only for transitory
 “ Promises.”

The Resurrection they might and probably did gather from those three Texts, *Eccles.* xii. 7. *Isa.* xxvi. 19. and *Daniel* xii. 2. viz. *Eccles.* xii. 7. *Then shall the Dust return to the Earth, as it was ; and the Spirit shall return unto God, who gave it.* So *Isa.* xxvi. 19. *Thy dead Men shall live, together with my dead Body shall they arise : Awake and sing ye that dwell in Dust : for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast out the Dead.* So *Dan.* xii. 2. *And many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt.* And in the Preface to the Prophet *Isaiah*, this Doctrine is couched in an Article of Faith, by a Jewish Rabbi : **שהמתם** שכבר מתו ונפרד רוחם מגוף עוד ישוב לחיים הנשימים. *i. e.* “ The Dead who are dead, and whose Spirit is now divided from their Body, will re-“ turn to this corporal Life.”

As for that Doctrine of the *Epicureans*, who believed **המאמין שהנפש תבלת**, “ the Soul perish-“ ed,” it was thought to have been introduced among the *Israelites*, when Piety and the Knowledge of the true God began to be diminished, and the Care of heavenly Things was valued lower than of earthly ; though some have interpreted the foregoing Passage of *Daniel* in a lower Sense, and applied it to temporal Restoration only ; to the *Jews* getting free from temporal Calamities which befel them, or to *Job*’s Restoration to a happy Condition, after all his Afflictions. That this Article was more known in Time past, and much more as a clear Doctrine of the Law, than that it should seem to be called in doubt by any Body,

Body, Rabbi *Tanchuma* teacheth us, i Sam. xxv. 29. viz. *The Soul of my Lord shall be bound in the Bundle of Life.*

ראי נמי אל מفسרין פי הדא אלנץ אנה עלי סביל אלאנדר במאסיכון חאל אלנפש ומא يول אליה אמרהא עד מפארקתהא אלנד ובינת אנהא האלטין פבעץ אלנפש להא מקאמא רפיעא ומדלא תאבתא ענד רכחה חיה באקיה לא תמיות ולא תדרר ובעצחה תלעכ בהא אמוני אלטביעה ולא תנדי תבאת ולא מסתקר בל אלאם דאמיה ונץ מתצלחה מע אלדוואם ואלאבד

כאלחנدر אלדי יכרג מן אלוצפ אלדי זו אלמקלאע : פיציר מתקלב פי אלחייحسب קוה אלראמי לה תם יסקט כקייתה אלטביעה אלתקילה ואמא אלנפש פלא תקל פיהא ידכטהא ולא כפה להא תרטקי בהא פלדליך לם תול פי אלחירה יאלקלק ואלאם ואלאם אליו מא לא נהיה לה פהדא הוא עלי אלחיקיה ראי אלחכמא ואלאפ לאכפה בל והדא הוא מעני אלכרת אלמקול פי אלשריעה ונכחת הנפש היה הכרת תכרת ואמא אלמורתבה אלאoli פהו אלמקיל ענהא אשר ועשה אונטם האדם והי בהם עלמא וחית דבר פי אלתרת יתהון אנשא ויהי בהון בהי עלמא וחית דבר פי אלתרת למען יטב לך והארכת ימים פהדא אלמעני הוא אלמקזוד בה עני קא אלנפש בעד אלמיות

It is the Opinion of all Interpreters as to this Text, that it is by Way of publick Warning, whereby it is declared what will be the true State of the Soul, and to what last it will come after it is separated from the Body ; and to shew that a double Lot will befall it ; to wit, that some Souls will have a sublime Degree, and a firm Place, with their Lord, while they enjoy an immortal Life, obnoxious neither to Death nor Destruction ; and that others dance the Waves of Nature so that they can find neither Rest nor Place of Settlement, but everlasting Pains, and continual Torments, with eternal Duration ; like a Stone which cast out of a Sling is wheeled about in the Air according to the Strength of the Flinger, and

and then, by its natural Force pressing it, it falls upon the Earth. But in the Soul there is neither Gravity to force it downward, nor Levity to bear it upward ; therefore it is in perpetual Confusion, in Disorder, Sadness, and Grief to Eternity. And this indeed is the Opinion of the wise Men, and Philosophers, and this is the very self-same which is meant by כְּרָת, Destruction, spoken of in the Law, where it is said, *Num. xv. 31. Because he hath despised the Word of the Lord, and hath broken his Commandments ; that Soul shall utterly be cut off ; his Iniquity shall be upon him.* It is the first Degree of which he says, *Lev. xviii. 5. which if a Man do he shall live in them ;* which *Onkelus* thus explains, “ What if a Man does, he shall live “ thereby to Eternal Life.” Also, when he says in the Law, *That it may be well for thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy Days,* the same Thing is proposed to be understood, to wit, the Duration of the Soul after Death and its Separation from the Body, as said the Prophet of blessed Memory, *That it may be well with thee for ever, which is wholly good, and that thou mayest prolong thy Days for ever, which is wholly long :* And of the same it is said, *Zeck. iii. 7. And I will give thee Places to walk among those that stand by.* For the Standing, as the Stable, signifies the same as when he says, *That they may stand many Days.*

If it were the Intent of the said *Abigail* in that Text to hint this, it signifies, that Mystery, foreign from the Understandings of Men, and far remote from their Knowledge ; to the Understanding of which those who are renowned for Wisdom do not arrive but after Labour and many frequent Exercises, also diligent Searches, and difficult Reasonings, was in those Time known ; and that what was hidden in it, was manifest even to Women ; and

and the same is a most strong Argument, that Wisdom was widely spread all over that Nation, as it is said of them, *Deut. iv. 6. Surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding People.*

But howsoever it be in those antient Times among a Nation appointed from Heaven were known even to little Women, what ought to be believed concerning the State of the Soul after Death, the Resurrection, and a future Life; yet afterwards, when their Wisdom flowed in a more narrow Channel, [because God threatened those who refused to confirm their Knowledge by Works, *Behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous Work amongst this People, for the Wisdom of their wise Men shall perish, and the Understanding of their prudent Men shall be hidden, Is. xxix. Ver. 14.*] in great Part the Knowledge of these Things was defaced, insomuch that even the Truth of them was called in question, the *Sadduces* utterly denying that there was any Thing in Man not subject to Death, or that he should again be restored to Life. The Father of this Sect, one *Sadocus*, is affirmed to have drawn this impious Opinion from a Saying of his Master *Antigonus Socensis* badly understood, who to the End he might bring Men over to that Degree of Piety which they call the Worship of God out of Love, admonished us to serve God not as Servants who are enticed to Obedience only through the Hope of a Reward, but without any View of Wages or Hire; hence this Man of a bad Disposition together with his Fellow-Disciple, one *Baitus*, concluded, that no Hire or Reward or Punishment was to remain for those who worshipped God; and from him that Sect among the *Jews* drew its Name who though they professed to embrace the Law of *Moses*, nevertheless affirmed that Reward and Punishment were only corporal, and

of this Life ; utterly denying any Spiritual Reward to be expected after Death, and from thence confirming their Opinion because it seemed to them, no where in the Law of *Moses* Mention is made of a Reward which could be proper to the Soul, but of bodily Prosperity only : *Joseph Albo* relating their Opinion, who therefore avouches them to have been enforced to affirm these Things because they believed the Soul of Man to be mortal, nor by that Part to differ from the Soul of Brutes, but as this died, so died that. This Sect though unequal in Number to the other Sects of the *Jews* that followeth were nevertheless superior in Dignity, as *Josephus* witnesseth, whose Words are of his Antiquity, B. 18. c. 2. "With these therefore and the *Jews* that were remaining and particularly the renowned Sect of the *Pharisees* a continual Strife subsisted whom they ridiculed, because as Rabbi *Nathan* relates, they tormented themselves in this Life ; whereas in the other no Reward remained for them, these holding what those denied, to wit the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Reward of a future Life, but with doubtful, as it seemeth, Success. Hence they had Courage to accost our Saviour with that Argument, bearing the Prize by which they were wont to occasion the Affliction of others, of a Woman who had been married to Seven Husbands in this Age, to which at last, in the future, she should be determined ;" which certainly was a Difficulty to those who from the gross Delights of this World, measured the Pleasures of the other, which have nothing common among themselves, which at that Time seems to have been the Opinion of the *Pharisees*, as also of the late *Ward*, not easy to be resolved. Our Lord, by discovering another Way of that Life than either

ther they or the *Pharisees* dreamt of, so dissolved that they could not have what to mutter again ; nor content with this, to have repressed their Argument whereby they assaulted the Resurrection, with another he established it against them, whereby however stedfast in their Opinion, he wholly stopped their Mouth : to wit, that fetched from *Exodus*, Ch. iii. v. 6. where God so spake to *Moses*, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, not to be solv'd and invincible, unless one should affirm the Promises formerly made by God to the Fathers, to be invalid, and disown the whole Force of the *Mosaick Law* ; for in what Respect can God be called the God of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, more than of others, unless by conferring more and greater Benefits on them, which since in this Life it was not performed, which with greater Happiness, and Abundance of outward Things, not a few passed more unlike to God, we must needs confess the proper Time of recompensing to have been after this Life, and that they survive, or are to be restored to Life, to the End they may receive a Reward he should grant, who hath not thought these Things should be said in vain of God, which no Body, unless evidently an Atheist, will say.

Moreover, God having spoken these Things to *Moses* after so many Ages from their being buried, affirms himself to be, not to have been, their God. From whence as it is manifest concerning the Unchangeableness of God himself, so they neither had perished wholly, since God is not the God of the Dead who are capable of no Benefit, but of the Living ; they live therefore to God, both they and all others, whose Souls now abide constantly, and Bodies again are to be restored to Life with so great

Certainty of the Divine Promises, that even still they may be supposed to live. And the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* very well concludes those divine Heroes expected the Ratification of the Promises at last in that Life, which while they lived here were made to them, and died in that Faith, *Heb. xi. ver. 13.* and following, *These all died in Faith, not having received the Promises, but having seen them afar off, and were perswaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were Strangers and Pilgrims on the Earth.* 14. *For they that say such Things, declare plainly that they seek a Country.* 15 *And truly if they had been mindful of that Country from whence they came out, they might have had Opportunity to have returned:* 16. *But now they desire a better Country, that is, an heavenly: Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a City.*

When Christ had forced the *Sadduces* to Silence by these Things brought out of the Law, it is said the Multitude were struck, astonished, dashed with his Doctrine; from whence it is clear that he used a more clear Argument against them, than any that the *Pbarisees* hitherto used, who as it seems, cleaving too much to earthly Things, for the most Part forgot heavenly, to which the Law called and instructed them. Hence it appears that a future State could not clearly have been discovered by the Light of Nature, but was clearly discovered by the Revelation of *Moses's* Law, but most clearly by the Revelation of the Gospel.

But howsoever it be, certainly if the *Jews* were persuaded of this, that nothing else in the Law was promised to themselves, or forbidden by a sore Threatening, than what concern this Life, it is no Wonder if they seek greedily those Things, nor put any Bounds to their Avarice; or from any heinous Offence,

Offence, from whence there appeared to themselves Hope of small Gain, should abstain. There is no otherwise a readier Way to all Lewdness, than of another Life, and of a Judgment then to be gone under, to have shaken off all Hope or Fear. But as in the Gospel the Hope of another Life proposed to Christians ought to restrain, and lead them away from excessive Care of this Life, and the Love of frail things: So neither in the Law are there wanting which may teach the *Jews*, unless willingly they would shut the Eyes of their Mind lest they should see, to pant after Advantages higher than of this Age, and to shun its Lures; rather, the whole Law seems to lean upon no other Foundation, than this supposed, and granted, since it was no otherwise *Moses* could hope any Body to hold a Law by himself delivered: For behold, he who promised so many and great Goods to those who were to perform a Law by himself brought unto them; himself through his whole Life, was annoyed by Distresses and Difficulties, that scarcely with his Eyes from the afar off Top of the Mountain he could view that Land flowing with Milk and Honey, obtained Favour towards his Death, nor did he obtain apparent Honour of a Sepulchre after Death. Certainly if no other Goods could be hoped for by those who observed the Law, than what being proper to this Life, are reckoned up fully in it, as Doctor *R. Saadia Goan* excellently observes, the greatest Part of them ought to be allowed to *Moses*. The Words of the same are these, *מְצָאנוּ רְבִינוּ הַגָּדוֹל שְׁבָצְדִיקִים וּבְעֲבָדִים לֹא הִיה לוּ מְעַנֵּנִי גָּמָל הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה דָּבָר כְּמוֹ וַתֵּתִי גְּשָׁמִים בָּעַתָּם וְהַשֵּׁג לְכֶם דֵּישׁ וַתְּתִישְׁלָום וַפְנִיתִי אֲלֵיכֶם וְאַכְלָתֶם יִשְׁן מִפְנֵי שְׁלָאָבָאָל אָרֶץ כְּנָעָן וְאַלְוָאָלָה הִיה לְצָדִיקִים בֵּי אִם מָא שִׁישׁ בָּאִים הַקּוֹתִי הִיה מַתְּחִיב שַׁיְהִיה רָבוּ לְמֹוֹשֶׁה* “We

“ We have found *Moses* our Doctor, the Chief
 “ of the Just and of the Worshippers of God, to
 “ have received nothing at all of those Things
 “ which concern the Reward of this Life:” As
 when it is said, *Lev. xxvi. 4 Then will I give you Rain in due Season.* Ver. 5. *And your Threshing shall reach unto the Vintage.* Ver. 6. *And I will give Peace.* Ver. 9. *For I will have Respect unto you.* Ver. 10. *And ye shall eat old Store.* Nor did he ever enter into the Land of *Canaan*, if there could be nothing coming to the Just, besides those Things reckoned up fully in the Section, *if ye will walk in my Statutes*, the greatest Part of them ought to have been given to *Moses*; for who by observing a Law could hope greater Goods to himself, than he seeth it to have conferred on the Giver? If Recompence could be only in this Age, he could not who was not fit himself should enjoy any Part of it, in any Degree make others Sharers of it. As more properly to the Matter the same *Saadias*, although in another Argument, *viz.* from *Elisha* already dead restoring Life to another by his Touch, which he could not restore to himself. This therefore since the Thing is so with *Moses*, clearly teaches the chiefest Part of Reward to be expected in a future Life, to which the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* observes him to have aspired, *Heb. xi. 24, 25, 26. By Faith Moses, when he was come of Years, refused to be called the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter; chusing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: for he had Respect unto the Recompence of Reward.* Which Doctrine is taught by our own Poet *Milton, Paradise Lost*, Book xii. Line 300.

*So, Law appears imperfect, and but given
 With Purpose to resign them in full Time*

*Up to a better Covenant ; disciplin'd
 From shadowy Types to Truth ; from Flesh to Spirit ;
 From Imposition strict Laws, to free
 Acceptance of large Grace ; from servile Fear
 To filial ; Works of Law, to Works of Faith.
 And therefore shall not Moses (tho' of God
 Highly belov'd) being but the Minister
 Of Law, his People into Canaan lead ;
 But Joshuah (whom the Gentiles Jesus call ;
 His Name and Office bearing, who shall quell
 The adversary Serpent, and bring back
 Thro' the World's Wilderness long wander'd Man
 Safe to eternal Paradise of Rest)
 Meanwhile they in their earthly Canaan plac'd
 Long Time shall dwell and prosper.*

So Line 239.

*To God is no Access
 Without Mediator, whose high Office now
 Moses in Figure bears ; to introduce
 One greater, of whose Day he shall foretell.*

See Line 230, &c.

This therefore *Abarbinel* justly stiles the Great Argument, *הנְדָה הַתְעֵנָה* and certainly of so great Moment, that if no other Thing either openly or privily had been said, whereby the Resurrection and a future Life might be proved, this Article ought not to be esteemed among the Things hidden in the Law, but such like that if any one believes it not, and with his Mouth openly professeth it, boldly, as against the *Sadduces*, they ought to conclude he hath no Share at all in the Law of *Moses*. If any Reason is to be rendered beyond the Good Will of the most free Lawgiver, why in the Gospel are more clearly delivered, Things which respect the Article of the Resurrection, than of old in the Law, what but it may suffice

suffice to have said, that Law was delivered to the Posterity of *Abraham* by *Moses*, who in no wise were in doubt about him; but were to be instructed to a Life worthy of that Hope, but the Gospel to a People to whom this Doctrine was generally new and unheard of. Hence that of those *Athenians* of *Paul*, preaching *Jesus* and the Resurrection, *Acts xvii. 8.* *He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange Gods, because he preacheth Jesus and the Resurrection.*

R O O T E II.

מֵתִים יְהִי

Of the Time of the Resurrection, when to wit it will be? Whether after all the Men being taken away by Death the Earth is utterly made desolate, as some of the Antients judged, or some being yet alive; and whether they together with the Dead raised up are to be called into Judgment?

Of these he avouched *R. Saadia* to have related various Opinions. Himself appointed that it will be in the last Generation of all, and when the Men of this Age seemed to be near Death, nor yet themselves by this means will be free from Death, but will indeed live long; so though that at last they should go down the common Share of Mortals. As agreeable to this Opinion, he affirms God in the Beginning all the Souls of all who were ever to live, to have created together, when therefore some Souls remained not that were to be sent down, and poured upon Bodies, then will be the Resurrection of the Dead, which he affirms to be the Opinion of the Cabalists, or of those who lean upon Tradition,

Tradition, who say until all the Souls cease which are in *Goph*, which is the Name of a certain Place in those Heavens, in which those Souls are laid up: And in the *Talmudick* Tract *Chagigah* it is said, among those Things which are in the Supreme Heaven, are the Souls of the Just, and the Souls and Spirits yet still to be created. To this Root even *Nacmanides* pointed his Finger in *c. Gamul*. These Things are said in *Nachalath Aboth*, but in other Words set before to his Commentaries to *Isaiah*, although perhaps looking to the same End, this Question about the Time in which the Dead are to be raised up, he resolves, to wit the Resurrection of the Dead will be in the Time of the Gathering of the Captivity, or about it, therefore frequently by the Prophets mention is made together of those Times.

These Opinions are rehearsed by *R. Saadia* Book *Emunoth*, c. vii. Root 7, and rather look upon to the same, which in very deed is wholly the very one with the latter Part of this. But as to the Time of the Resurrection, he appointed it will be while the Messias reigns in the Earth: So the Promise whereby God promiseth, *Ezek. xxxvii. 12.* *he will bring the Israelites out of their Graves*, [which he will have understood of the Resurrection of the Dead] he says is to be performed in this World, lest we should think it to belong to the other World, as neither that Prophecy of *Daniel* of the Many of those who sleep in the Earth to be raised up, with other Places of Scripture, but to *עתה ישועה*, the Time of Safety, or what sounds the same *ימותה המשיח* the Days of the Messias; and that the Antients thought so he proves from that which they say whosoever will deny the Resurrection of the Dead, he is not to live in the Days of the Messias, although his other Works have been good.

These Words come in the Way in the *Gemara*, Tract *Yebamoth*, c. 6. besides *Avodah Zara*, c. 1. in both which Places it is reported to be said by Rabbi *Asi* The Son of *David* will not come 'till all the Souls shall be consumed which are in *Goph*; which by a wonderful Consequence he proves from *Is. lvii. 16.* for the Spirit should fail before me, and the Souls which I have made. What *Goph* is *Rashi* teacheth and the Interpreter to *Ein Jacob* to both Places, to wit a certain Storehouse, in which are the Spirits and Souls which have been created to wit in that Time to have been created together the Souls which were to be born. While *Abarbanel* alledges these Things he shews, he affirms the same Thing both in this Place, and besides in the Things set before to *Isaiah*, as to the Time of the Resurrection of the Dead, when the last Generation of the World in which to wit, this Storehouse is to be emptied clean, and the Days of the Messias according to their Decrees, prefix the same Age. What he brings out of *Chigigah* to confirm the same, is had in his second Tract.

For neither professedly doth he treat of the same, or determine any Thing certain, only in c. *Gamul*, of the Book *Torath Adam*, fol. 105. from the Tradition of the Ancients he teacheth the *Olam Habba* future World will have a Beginning in the seventh Thousand Years of the World. But the Day of Judgment [which fol. 100, he saith will be in some Day מתחלה ימות התחיה] and the Beginning of the Days of the Resurrection] and the Reign of the House of *David*, מלכות בית דוד which go before it will be, באלף והששי in the Sixth Thousand Years. He says the Days of the Messias are to be reckoned to the Space of this World מכלל חועל מתחוה but in the End of them will be the

the Judgment and Resurrection of the Dead
שָׁהָוָה הַעוֹלָם הַבָּא which is the World to come ;
that is, its Beginning, to wit, which he affirms
to be the Time which follows the Resurrection of
the Dead שָׁהָוָה אַחֲר תְּחִיַּת הַמַּתִּים and a little after,
by an Example fetch'd of the future Things from
the Seven Days of the First Creation, he brings
in secretly and so the Reign of the House of *Da-vi*d will be in the Sixth Thousand Years, and in
the End of it the Day of Judgment, since in the
Seventh begins the future World. But yet he
seemeth to ordain some Space between the Resur-
rection and the future World, in which in this
World, as before, they may live who are raised
up, when f. 106 to the Objection in which it is
questioned why in the future World Bodies should
be received since henceforth there is no Use for
them there, he answers, because forasmuch as Mem-
bers of the Body have been resumed in the Time
of the Resurrection to go about corporeal bearing
Office, אין הקבה רוץ'ה בבטולו אחורי כן, the blessed
God will not, anew reduce them to nothing. And
he remembers that Saying out of *Chagigah*, of the
Place of Souls which in a Beginning they will have
created, not yet sent down into Bodies, but not for
that End for which *Abarbenel*, viz. that afterwards
he might offer a Conjecture of the Time pitched
upon for the Resurrection. *Maimonides* seemeth to
leave the Thing undecided while that in an Epistle
or a Place of Exercise of the Resurrection of the
Dead against some who should say he denied a Re-
surrection, he affirms from nothing which by him
is said it can be concluded שָׁהָשָׁם לֹא יִהְיֶה מַתִּים
כשידצת ולמי שידצת אם כי מֵהַמְשִׁיחָה או לפָנֶיךָ או אַחֲרָיו
God will not awake again the Dead, when he
hath willed, or whom he hath willed, whether in the
Time of the Messias, whether before an Arrival of

him, either after the Death of him. Although elsewhere he seemed to *Nachmanides* to refer it to the Kingdom of the Messias, for he affirmeth this to be his Opinion *c. Gamul f. 107.* Souls will return into Bodies in the Time of the Resurrection, and be raised up to enjoy Delight of this World in the Days of the Messias. *בימות המשיח.* But *Josephus Albo* altogether avoucheth it to be affirmed nigh their Opinion who say, there is no Diversity between this Age and the Days of the Messias in the Number of which is *Maimonides*, who often repeats this Opinion unless because then the Kingdoms should be brought under the Yoke, the Resurrection will not be in the Time of the Messias. *Judah Zabarah* affirms it will be in the Sixth Millenary. Some Time after a leading or bringing again of the Captivity. His Words *l. c. 1.* of his Book are
 זמנן תחית המתים שהוא באלף הששי אחד קבוץ נליות אבל אין מבורש אם סמוך לקבוץ נליות או מופלג
 it is manifest the Time of the Resurrection will be in the Sixth Millenary, after a Collection or gathering together of the Captivity, but it is not explained whether next or last from that Collection, or it is to be a long Time after. He follows after the same with many Words *c. 4.* where he confesseth nothing to be elegantly determined in Scripture about it, only it is plain from *Daniel* that it will be after the Freedom of the *Israelites* out of Captivity, since he saith *Dan. xii. 1. And at that Time shall Michael stand up, that great Prince which standeth for the Children of thy People: And there shall be a Time of Trouble, such as never was since there was a Nation, even to that same Time: And at that Time thy People shall be delivered every one that shall be found written in the Book, and afterwards, and many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt.* But of the Interval of Time which is

to

to come between nothing is affirmed ; but neither in *Midrashim*, only a wonderful Opinion offers itself in the *Talmud c. Chelek*, which rightly explained may seem to tend hitherto, it is this, *Eliezer* says the Days of the Messias to *Israel* are Forty Years, as it is said, *Forty Years it will be irksome to me of this People.* *R. Eleazar*, the Son of *Azaria*, Seventy Years, as it is said, *Is. xxiii. 15. Tyre shall be forgotten, Seventy Years, according to the Days of one King*, Who is that singular King ? King Messias, *Rabbi* says, Two or Three Ages, as it is said, *Ps. lxxxix. 36.* And before the Moon for ever and ever. *Hillel* saith, “ *Israel* will not have a Messias, since all ready they have eaten, *i. e.* received him in the Time of *Hezekiah.*” *R. Joseph* said, “ Forgive Lord *Hillel*, when did *Hezekiah* live ?” Under the First Temple. But *Zacharias* the Son of *Iddo*, prophesied of the Messias under the Second Temple, *Rejoice greatly, O Daughter of Zion, &c.* That whatsoever of absurd this Saying professeth openly may be taken away and the same may be rightly understood, he thinks it ought to be so interpreted, without doubt according to the Opinion of *R. Eliezer*, the Resurrection will not be presently after a leading or bringing again of *Israel* out of Bondage, but at last, after the Messias hath reigned Forty Years ; according to the Opinion of *Eleazar* after Seventy. According to the Opinion of *Rabbi*, after Two or Three Ages. But *Hillel* to have affirmed Diversly from all these, that it followeth not necessarily from those Places of Scripture, which are alledged by them that the Days of the Messias are to be prolonged after a restoring or making good of Bondage, but either out of hand, or not long after the Resurrection of the Dead will be. When therefore he had said, a Messias is not to be, he wills the Days of the Messias will not be, to wit, in which he should reign upon the Earth before the Resurrection of the Dead,

Dead, and in this Manner are to be understood his Words, affecting Brevity, is manifest from the Reason of the Place, to wit, in which of the Days of the Messias it was asked how long they should continue? In the mean Time while that he had said, they received Messias under *Hezekiah*, he means, כי כל מה שנבאו הנביאים ממען טום העתיד לבא על ישראל אין הכרח שיתקיים ביום משיח שכבר all Things which the Prophets foretold of the happy Times which were to come to pass to *Israel*, are not necessarily to be performed in the Days of the Messias, since they possessed them under *Hezekiah*. Neither himself to have been ignorant of the Prophecy of *Zachariah*, which *R. Joseph* wresteth against him, but to have referred it to the Time of the gathering or bringing together of Bondage, of which there was between them no Controversy. And by this Way the Opinion of *Hillel* is most beautiful, and to be embraced by all לפי שאחר שנעשה קבוץ גליות מה אנו צריכים המשנת ימות המשיח הלא עניין תחית המתים נדול Postquam enim facta fuerit collectio captivitatis, quid opus est nobis us protractantur dies Messiae? Annon ipsa resurreccio mortuorum longè præstamior est Israeli, diebus Messiae? &c. Forafter Collection or gathering together of the Captivity hath been made, what Need have we that the Days of the Messias should be prolonged to us? Is not the Resurrection itself of the Dead by far more excellent for *Israel*, than the Days of the Messias? The Days of the Messias therefore [which others hoped for] not caring how or which way they are taken, *Hillel* the Times of the Resurrection and the future World which after it is to the Just the Perfection of all Good, respected, and to have thought all earthly Things not worthy of which Mention should be made. Nothing in the mean Time yet, even from *Hillel* is manifest, whether the Resurrection is to be joined

joined together to a Collection or gathering together of Captivity, or farther to be delayed, as the other Doctors would, neither *בָּאֵי זֶה יוֹם בָּאֵי זֶה שָׁעָה מִן* in what Day or what Hour of the Sixth of a Thousand it is to be. But however it be this Opinion of *Hillel* pleased *R. Juda*, that he had others not a little opposite to it shews, as that Manner or Fashion of Speaking which *Joseph* useth concerning him, so the Things which in the same Chapter a little before are held, perhaps proceeding from the same *Joseph*, where *Rab* saying, it will be that the *Israelites* may eat up, *i. e.* enjoy the Years of the Messias. *R. Joseph* retorts, that indeed is manifest, but who will enjoy them? every one Man except *R. Hillel*, who avoucheth *Israel* has no more a Messias, for they have already enjoyed him in the Time of *Hezekiab*. Next to a Rule, as it seemeth, which they will have observed in the Judgments of God, they will have himself dealt withal, to wit, *מִזְדָּה כְּנַדְדָּה מִזְדָּה* that Measure might be rendered for Measure: So in the Beginning of the Chapter, therefore they will have no Share to be allowed in the Benefit of the Resurrection to those who deny the Dead will rise again. Neither here [*R. Joseph* declaring the Sentence] to *Hillel* in the Goods of this Life to be expected under the Messias, because hath denied them. That the Opinion of *Hillel* was also otherwise understood by others, than is unfolded by *Judah Zabara*, is plain from *Joseph Albo*, who Book i. c. 1. from thence an Arrival of the Messias, concludes not necessarily to be numbered among the Articles of the Jewish Faith, because *R. Hillel* though he denied it, was not esteemed among those who denied a fundamental Article. In the mean while as long as *Hillel* has affirmed this without a Character of Infamy [which the aforesaid *Juda* removes farthest off from him, because he is received among the Doctors of the *Talmud* of uncorrupted Fame] hence it is

certain

certain, that it was neither heretical or blasphemous, to affirm among the Jews themselves, either that a Messias was no more to be expected on earth, or at least that he was to be expected by them without the Pomp of an earthly Kingdom. Even these among the greater Part of them by a necessary Knot are joined together, an Arrival of the Messias, the Resurrection of the Dead, the great Judgment and future World, although of the Time and mutual Interval of them they went into divers Opinions. Of the Millenary as we have seen not a few boldly resolve, nevertheless while that of the Year, Day, Hour, they leave the Thing undecided, safe enough, as it seems, they think themselves from that Anathema against those who the Time pitched upon for these Things compute, pronounced. Greater yet, as it seems to me, Modesty and Sobriety those Words in *Joseph Albo* seem to require, who from the Words of the Masters the Uncertainty, noting of the Year of Redemption, of which *Is. Ixiii. 4.* they comment, *My Heart hath not revealed it to my Mouth, to whom should my Mouth reveal it?* Avouches that it follows even at least the Angels knew not the Time pitched upon for Redemption, since God has not revealed it to them; by an Opinion agreeable to Evangelical Truth.

R O O T III.

Of the Form of the Resurrection, and its true Reason.

Rambam avouches that there are even from the Learned of the Christians who affirm that in the Time of the Resurrection Bodies will not be composed of Contraries, but will be airy, subtil, light; others who say they will be of the same Nature with celestial Bodies; that they are all false, since this is the true Article, שְׁכָמוּ שְׁהִיוּ חָנָנִים בְּחַיָּהם אֶתְּם הַקְּדָבָה וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּאָוֹתָנוּ נָסָפֶת וּבְאָוֹתָה נִשְׁמָה יְהִי אֶתְּם הַקְּדָבָה וַיֵּשֶׁב אֶתְּם

אותם לזה העולם באותו אופן עצמאי Men will be restored of God to Life both with the same Soul, and with the same Bodies, and in that Manner in which they themselves were in this Life, and so wholly joined to be sent back into this World. But the latter Doctors of the Christians judge they are no otherwise called the same who died that are raised up than from the Part of the Soul, since every thing oweth to its Form, that it should be what it is, but as to Bodies they will be of a certain new Composition. מהר כביהוד שה In the Second Root in the Preface to *Is.* thus he utters, the Resurrection will not be only with respect to the Soul, which is to return that it may be united with a contrary Body from that which perished after it first was, as the wise Men of the Christians affirm. חכמי הנוצרים He says this Opinion is by no Means to be embraced, because by that Rule that there might be either a new Generation, or a נלגול נפשות a Transmigration of Souls into divers Bodies, not a Resurrection; therefore *Haggaon* [R. Saadia] wrote that the Parts or Principals of Bodies by whatsoever Manner at last dead do not so return to universal Principles, they should be mixed with them, but remain marked out and distinct, and therefore reserved that from them again in the Time of the Resurrection Bodies may be composed, and by this Way they will be wholly the same that will be raised up with those which had been dead. Which since (as he avouches is plain from the Reasoning of the same *Haggaon*) of itself it cannot be with respect to Quantity of Elements, since the Bodies of Men ever and anon are composed of new Parts of Principles, he judges it more convenient to the Understanding that it should be resolved, God at that Time will create anew for Men severally one by one Bodies like their former, in Quantity, Quality, a Measure, Dispositien of Members, wholly the

same without Addition or Diminution, which should be formed with the same Souls, wherewith the former, insomuch that [what is necessary since Manners follow the Measure of the Body] in no Matter they be contrary from the same. And since already they consist of Matter quite like the former, and utterly of the same Soul [which is a proper Difference] which was in the former, it is truly affirmed the same in Number that were dead rise again. This Opinion he acknowledges owing to Rab. Chasdai, who received the same of *Abi Hamed* in *L. Ha-Haphala*. To confirm the same Opinion, or facilitate, he alledges, what is put in writing by the Rabbins **עצמ אחד בגולגולת האדם במקום חות השדרה שלא יתעפש ולא יפסد בשום זמן** that there is in the Scull or Brain-pan of a Man in the Place of the Marrow of the Back-bone a certain little Bone which in no Space of Time can grow rotten or be corrupted, and that is which will be the Subject [or Foundation] of the Resurrection **עם שווי הנוף במר בכתו ומננו וחלקו**, beyond which Bodies raised up will be like those which are [corrupted] in Composition, a Measure, and all its Parts. And to this Temperature of the Body to be raised up he thinks the Doctors of the same pointed a Finger, while that they make mention **טל שעתיד הקביה להחייה כו את המתים** of the Dew by the Power of which God is about to raise up the Dead, taking Occasion out of those Words of the Prophet, *Isa. xxvi. 19. For the Dew is as the Dew of Herbs*; to wit (according to their Opinion) a Dew will descend upon the Earth, out of which mixed and mingled together with the Dust of the Earth Bodies should be made which should be raised up, the Dew of Male Seed, to introduce a Form with the Dust of the Earth, so disposed of God, that it may supply fit Matter, fulfilling the Room of that belonging to a Woman, and by this Means by

by the same Manner then Bodies are to be formed by which in the Beginning the Body of *Adam* was created. These Things which he said are hinted by that which *Eliezer* avouches, *Pirke Ab. c. 4.* it will be that the Dead may be awaked again, *viz.* that wholly the same which are dead, should live and turn back unto the World; not only that they should be restored to Life in Banishment; to wit, that they be led again from that, nor so that contrary Men should be created with divers Bodies, which hitherto have not been: but so that the same which died should return to Life, with those Bodies, those in Composition, Temperature, Habit, Form, Properties, and with the same Soul with which before they were. This little Bone of which he makes mention, vulgarly by the Masters hears *Luz*, [which in Form resembleth an Almond, *Baal Aruck* being Witness] of which and its Use these Things are read by *Judah Zabarah*

וְאִם תְּשַׁאֲלָ מֵאַין יִצְחַזֵּק יְסוֹדָם כִּבְרָ בָּאָרוֹ וְלִ כִּי עַצְמָ
אַחֲרֵ יִשְׁ בְּשָׁדְרוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם נִקְרָא לֹעֵן שָׁאָנוּ נִמְוֹחַ לְעוֹלָם
לֹא כְּלָה וְלֹא בְּלָה וּמִמְּנוּ מִתְּרַבָּה יְסוֹדוֹ וּמִחְדֵשׁ עַצְמֹות
וּנְדִיזּוּבָשָׁר כְּמוֹ שְׁהִיָּה מִתְּחַלָּה וּכְן אָמְרוּ בְּבְרִאָשִׁית
רַבָּא, &c. “ If any one would question whence
“ sprouts or branches the Beginning of those who
“ rise from the Dead, the Masters of pious Me-
“ mory taught that there is a little Bone in the
“ Back Bone of a Man which is called *Zuz*,
“ which never putrifies or rots, or by any Means
“ is consumed or grows old, whence the under-
“ growing Foundation [of the Body to be raised
“ up] assumes Bones, Nerves, Flesh, as from the
“ Beginning it was, and so they said in *Bereishith*
“ *Rabba*, &c.” By mention of the same little Bone, says the same *R. Judah*, is taken away another Diffi-
culty, which may be objected against the rolling of those who are to be raised up through the sub-

terraneous Caverns as far as to the Land of *Israe*
 for that he resolved the proper Place of the Resur-
 rection, ולפי זה בעת גלגול מהיות יש לנו לומד
 שאין גלגול אלא לזה הלוון כי טמן יצוץ הכל ולפי זה
 “ נקל הוא שיהיה גלגול בלי שום צער ” Therefore
 “ in the Time of rolling through the subterranean
 Caverns, we may say that a rolling will be of no
 other than of his Bone whence the whole Body
 will sprout or branch, and by that Means the
 Business of rolling will be very easy without any
 Trouble.” Which nevertheless he does not affirm
 of all promiscuously, whereas the Just have Confi-
 dence that all their Bones will be whole, nor that
 מובטחים הם שכל, which neither is to be thought a little Priviledge
 עצמותיהם שלמים שאין רמה ותולעה שלחת בהם
 of them, since a Worm in the Flesh of a dead Man is a great Af-
 fliction, as they say in the *Talmud* ; קשה רמה למת
 “ כיהרמה בבשר המת צער גדול הוא, ” A Worm is alike grievous to a
 dead Man, as a Needle in the Body of a
 Living.” Presently, because הנפש דואגת ומצטערת
 מאד כשרואה כי הנוף שהוא כלי שלה בלה ונלה
 על יד רמה ותולעה עלבו צדק גמוד שמור מוה הצער
anima tristitia & dolore valde afficiatur, quando videt
corpus quod ipsi vas fuit inveterascere & consumi à
verme, ideoque perfectè justus ab hac afflictione custoditur.
 The Soul is very much afflicted with Sadness
 and Grief, when it seeth that Body which was
 to it a Vessel to decay, and be consumed by a
 Worm ; therefore a perfectly just Man is kept
 from that Affliction.” Which Bone, unless our
 Author had affirmed it is placed there where the
 Marrow of the Back Bone is ingrafted in the
 Head, I should count it to belong to * *Coccyges*, and

* This is a Bone joined to the Extremity of the *Os Sacrum*, composed of three or four Bones, whereof the lower is still
 less than the upper, 'till the last ends in a small Cartilage.

to be the same which the *Mohammedans* call *Al Aibi*, affirming it to be in no wise subject to Corruption. So that Saying of *Mohammed* in *Eben Ather* “ The “ whole Man is consumed except *Al Aibi* ; ” but he says it is a Bone in the lower Part of the Back Bone near the *Os Sacrum*, being that Part whereon we sit, and even there some assert the Bone *Luz* is placed to wit in the End of the eighteenth Rib [of the Back Bone] to use the Words of *Baal Aruck* ; and that it is עצם הַתְּחִים חַתְּנָה שֶׁבֶדֶרֶת “ The lowest Bone of the Back Bone.” Among the Things laid up in the highest Heaven, c. 2. *Chagigah* now above commended, they set up בְּזַהֲיוֹת בְּזַהֲיוֹת לְהַחְיוֹת “ a Dew wherewith the blessed God is to restore the Dead to Life.”

Joseph Albo makes mention of the same Bone Book iv. c. 35. from whom our *Abarbanel* seems to have borrowed the Things which he relates of his Force by which the human Seed in the first Generation of Man, and who there seems to think more rightly of the same Bodies wholly, not with an equal, but wholly with the same Matter wherewith they were before, to be restored to Life, which will be more ready to receive the same Souls by reason of a certain Impression made a While ago by these in the same Souls nor yet blotted out ; and as the same will be more inclined to form the self-same Bodies, which by Similitudes from Woods, which before were catched suddenly by the Fire, by the Rod of *Moses* and Staff of *Elisha* made bright furthermore he brings in secretly, so in the Resurrection of the Dead, נָסַע הַצְדִיק מִצְדָּה הָר וְשֵׁם שְׁנָשָׁאָר בְּזַהֲרוֹת הָאֱלֹהִי שְׁהִירָה מְשֻׁכָּן לוּ יְהִי מָכוֹן בְּלֹא סְפָק אֶל שִׁק בְּלֹא הַרְחָה הָאֱלֹהִי הַהְוָא שְׁנִית יוֹתֶר מִמְּה שְׁהִיר *Corpus justi ob impressionem in ipso reliquam à Spiritu divino cuius habitaculum fuit, paratus absque dubio erit ad spiritum istum secundo recipiendum, quam* primo

primo fuerat. quo spectat & illud Rabbinorum dictum.
 Quod non fuit est, quod fuit multo magis [erit] q. d.
 (inquit). “ The Body of a just Man by reason
 of some Impression left upon it by the Divine Spi-
 rit whose Habitation it was, without Doubt will
 be more ready to receive that Spirit secondly, than
 it was at the first, whither looks that Proverb of the
 Rabbins, what was not is, what was will be much
 more, q. d. (he saith) When that which was not
 fit to receive from above that Influence hath once
 received it, how much more will it be fit to re-
 ceive it secondly? אלפי טכבר נשאך בו אי זה רושם? ”
 והכנה לקבלו פעם אחרית בנקל מבראשונה
 reliqua fit in ipso impressio aliqua qualis qualis, ad eam
 secundo recipiendam facilius quam primo receperat. “ Be-
 “ cause now some Impression is left in itself what-
 “ soever it be, more easily to receive it secondly
 “ than first of all it received it.” Hence he avouch-
 eth it to be, that it was by them a Custom, when
 they were oppressed with any Distress to prostrate
 themselves before God at the Sepulchre of the
 Pious, viz. הצד הרושם שנשאר בעצמות החם מהרוה
 האلهי שהוא משכן לו והם יוד מוכנים מזולתם לה
 מצא על ידם השפע האلهי by reason of an Impression
 which was left in those Bones by the Divine Spirit
 whose Habitation they have been, wherefore they
 will be more fit than other Places that by their
 Help the Divine Influence might be received, and
 as if it were yet still even at least an apparent Force
 were in those Bones of sending down the Divine
 Grace, and of rendering the Prayers uttered near
 to them more acceptable than elsewhere. But there
 is no Reason why I should dwell upon either re-
 hearsing or weighing these Things; from the Things
 already said I judge him to resolve that Bodies will
 be raised up all Manner of Ways the same they
 were, neither will be a new Creation, but
 יצירה חדשה

but a Restoring properly called. We return to *Abarbanel*, who is not first to be dismissed than he be accused of Injuries besides for Calumnies brought upon Christians, then because what Opinion he beats against others, and turns back as false, himself (promising to himself easy and unmindful Readers) as most true and agreeable to Reason holds. While he divides Christians into קדמוניים more antient and אחראוניים lateward, he seemeth to describe all, and to have meant to utter what the chief of them think of that Matter.

• • • • • by whom therefore of Christians of proved Credit doth he find it affirmed, a Resurrection is no other than what is named in a transported Sense? Certainly no Difficulties ever drove a sound and sober Christian to that Point, that either he should doubt a future Resurrection properly so called, which indeed is none, שׁוב תְּאֹו הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְנוֹפָח אַחֲרַ הַפְּרִידָה unless it be a Return of the same Soul into the same Body from which it hath been separated, whereby that may be again restored to Life which was dead, that I may use the Words even at least of *Maimonides* himself. Neither when Bodies are objected devoured by wild Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Men-eaters, and converted into their Substance; are we of those of whom it ought to be questioned, why we can deny a restoring of them more than other Miracles of God; considering that with whom every Deed will not be impotent with God, abundantly proving the infallible Certainty of all Things which he hath said were done, or to be done by him, and taking away all Letts or Hindrances of ready Assent. That allowed in the *Gemara* to *Gebiba Pesisa* belongs no more to the *Jews* than to us, דלא הו דהו לא בל שכן they who when they were none stood above Ground, the same when they

they were known is it not so that much more they will again present themselves? It will not be impossible for him who created Man in the first Turn, to restore what is created by him, whensoever, and in what Manner soever he will, since his Power is infinite. Who hath been able to do one, can also perform the other. The Words were spoken by a Christian, and by no one of the Christians to be called into question. But to search and seek diligently how this can be, that Bodies so mingled, mixed, or blended together with Bodies again may be divided, that what is its own can be rendered to every one, seems to be more the Part of a curious Person, inquiring into the Affairs of God, farther than is meet, than of one pensive about the Verity of Faith; so that what some among the Christians, as *R. Saadias* among the Jews, whereby they may stop up the Mouths of those contrary to the Faith, answered to this unseasonably sought-for Question, I shall not think worthy the Labour and Pains to rehearse. Wherefore that which is subjoined by *Tacritius* to the Answer of *Abi Ali* a Christian, to that laid in the Way by *Eben Annabæ* a Jew, out of the Number of those, as it seems, who dream of a Rising again only allegorically understood, pleases. Saith the Jew, " there is a Time " when a Lion hath devoured some Body, or some " other wild Beast, or a Fire hath consumed him, " that he should be reduced to Ashes, or a Fish " hath swallowed him down, whom afterwards other " Men have eaten up, and them again other's, as also " others I know not what Flesh-devouring Animals " have eaten up the Men who eat the Fish that " eat the Man, what therefore will this be in the " Day of a Rising again?" *Abu Ali* had answered, about every one of the Parts of the Elements returning to their Elements, and from thence to be

be taken out in the same Quantity according to the Will of God omnipotent ; but *Tacritius*, whatsoever there is here of Difficulty vanisheth away by the only Mention of that Power, which before brought forth Man from nothing. But in the mean time he faith, the *Jews* ought in no wise to bring Objections of this Sort, after they have read those Miracles, which are reckoned in the Law and other holy Books, which are proved by no other Demonstration, than by the Description of his Veracity, who hath declared them, excellent, as it seems to me : And I would not that any other Thing should be answered to one more curiously enquiring about the Manner and Way of a Rising again, than it is certain God hath promised to raise the Dead to Life. Who doubts of it is ignorant of the Scriptures, who questions how it can be ratified, is ignorant of the Power of God, rather **משיל החסרון** enters an Action of Weakness against him [that I may speak in the Words of *Joseph Albo*] which no body ever a true Christian dared to do. *Abarbinel* therefore may see they are out of the *Jews* ; [but this, as we said, he confesses] who moved with these Difficulties, deny a Rising again, properly called, not out of Christians, who whatsoever God hath promised to perform, account for as much certain, as if already it were done, howsoever human Reason cannot conceive it. Among the Places which by the same Author are brought that the Promise of God about restoring the Bodies of the Dead may be established, let me here observe one Thing, not so to confirm this Article ; [for neither is that my Purpose, or to declare at length more largely what Christians say about a Rising again, but what the *Jews* say, briefly to glance upon, and to remove the Calumnies of this renowned Master.] As for his wonderful Interpretation

pretation which he alledges, that is, the LXVIIIth Psalm, ver. 23. which he so brings out which to a Word signify, the Lord says, *I will lead again from among the Teeth, and I will bring again from the Deep of the Sea*; whereby he intimates that he will restore to Life those whom the Animals have eaten up, both in the Earth as in the Sea. An Exposition truly from that unto which our Ears have been accustomed, while Interpreters render מִבְשָׁן *Mibashan* from *Bashan*, different enough; nevertheless the ancient [for also by the most ancient] Syriac Interpreter is understood, the Lord hath said, *I will deliver from the Teeth*, מִרְיָאָדָם *as if מִבְשָׁן* *Mibashan* here signifies the same as as if בְּשָׁנִים or מִבְּהָשָׁן [from the Teeth, or from the Tooth] which also together, with that other, the Chaldee Paraphraſt holds, judging the Place to be a Prophesy of raising up the Dead וְאַתָּא כִּילוּ *Zekiyadim* The Just who are dead and devoured by the wild Beasts of the Field the Lord says *I will bring again from Bashan*; *I will bring again the Just who have been choaked in the Deep of the Sea*: To which Place even Sc. R. Joseph Ctealion,

וְדַרְךָ הַמְתֻרְגָּם אַחֲרָת

But the Way of the Paraphraſt is divers from our Exposition who will have said *God will turn back to enliven the Just, whom the wild Beasts of Bashan have eaten up, also those who are sunk in the Deep of the Sea*, which is an allegorical Interpretation admitted by our Doctors of pious Memory; but not from the Sense of this Psalm, although in itself true. I do not contend about the Interpretation as to the literal Sense of the Words. This in the mean time is plain it was received of old Time by many Christians [all, as it is probable, who held the Syriac Version, and others derived from it] as also by not a few of the Jews; as besides

sides the Testimonies now alledged is plain from a History brought in the Book *Jacobin edit Constant*, by Four and Four, 34 p. 4. to wit, the Wife of some one *Moses*, some one naughty Man preparing to do Violence to her in sailing, asked her Husband, whether in a Rising again of the Dead they should live who were sunk in the Sea. He answered, the Lord hath said, *I bring again from Bashan, I bring again from the Depths of the Sea*; and she hearing this by and by cast herself away into the Sea, and died. This in the mean time may I add, although the former Part of the Verse, as it signifies may be read, from the latter nevertheless if it can be understood about a Rising again what they will necessarily follows, God will surely restore those who are devoured by Fishes, since it is not credible but that they who are cast away to that Place happen for Food to Fishes. But what we mean is plain from hence, by Christians [and those not a few, rather all worthy of that Name] nothing is believed which can hinder that the Dead should not be raised up, and much more with the same Bodies wherewith aforetime they had lived; for otherwise what Difficulty at all had urged them from thence because former Bodies have been so many Times consumed and changed, if they had thought others anew created to suffice to build up the Truth of a Rising again. What therefore is the second Calumny of *Abarbinel* he avouches others of the Christians to affirm [he plainly rebukes the wise Men of the Christians adding no Epithet, **הכמי הנוצרים** Artic. II. Pref. to *Is.*] a Soul in a Rising again to be poured upon a Body different from the former, so that they may be thought rather to believe a Transmigration of the Soul out of one Body into another, or a new Creation than a restoring of

those who already had lived ; and those Bodies will be new, not composed from Contraries, but airy, subtil, light, of the same Nature with heavenly Bodies these Things are said frankly, if he speaks either concerning Christians in general or the Orthodox as he ought, where also I enquire his plain Dealing ; for neither is, whatsoever some falsely named Christians have said, to be forced upon all, or the Orthodox, of whose Opinion *Abarbinel* could not be ignorant if he would have read the Authors which every where he quotes, both Fathers besides School-men and Interpreters, to be evidently contrary ; that is to say we are neither to rise up again in Air, or any other Flesh [as some dote] but in this in which we live, which we consist of, and are moved that I may use the Words of the Council of *Toledo*. The Council affirms those to dote who think otherwise, and deservedly *.

For

* These Words of the Council plainly prove Mr. *Le Clerc* to have been in an Error, who says, in a Note upon *Grotius* of the Truth of the Christian Religion, Sect. X. Book II. If any one be not satisfied with the Account of *Grotius*, he may be answered, it is not at all necessary that the Matter, which is raised, should be numerically the same with that which the dying Man carried to the Grave with him ; for he will be as much the same Man, though his Soul were joined to Matter, which it was never before joined to, provided it be the same Soul ; as a decrepid old Man is the same as he was when a Child crying in the Cradle, though perhaps there is not, in the old Man, one Particle of that Matter there was in the Infant, by Reason of the continual Effluvia which fly from the Body. It may very well be called a Resurrection of the Body, when a like one is formed by God out of the Earth, and joined to the Mind ; therefore there is no Need of reducing ourselves to so great Streights, in order to defend too stiffly the Sameness of the Matter. These two Cases are not parallel ; a Man's being restored to Life by his Soul's being joined to Matter, which it was never before joined to, is manifestly a Transmigration of the Soul into another Body, or a new Creation. But the Soul of the Infant did not depart

out

For who in his right sound Senses since it belongs to him who fell to rise again, can call a Rising again, either a Transmigration of the Soul into another Body, or a Creation of a new Body, which without Desert would be made to appear personally in Judgment instead of another before the Tribunal of a just Judge? In the mean time *Abarbinel* is to be admonished of this lest that forasmuch because we affirm a Body which before was sensible, then will be spiritual [not because it is changed into Spirit, but is governed by the Spirit] what before was liable to Corruption, then will be incorruptible and immutable and equal to Angels and instead of Reproach, is to be clothed with a shining Garment of Glory the same Substance of the Flesh remaining but its Quality changed, he should think Bodies different from the former are set up; for as they which by Glory are different, nevertheless by Nature remain the same, he even now commended. *Tacritius* illustrates by a not unfit Example of Clay baked into a Gally-Pot, which I shall not disdain to lay down in his Words. If one should say, if the Thing is so, as you affirm, to wit; Men will rise up again spiritual, it will be, that a Reward will be rendered to Bodies divers from those which had been in this World, to whom either Punishment or Reward was due. It is answered, our Bodies are indeed to rise up again spiritual and subtil, such as the Body of Christ rose up again out of the Sepulchre, and

out of his Body to enter into the old Man's Body, but remained always in the same Body, which though it be much altered, this makes it not a different Body; neither should a like Body be punished or rewarded for what the same did: So it cannot very well be called a Resurrection of the Body, when a like one is formed by God out of the Earth, and joined to the Mind.

as Clay after it hath been made into a Gally-Pot, even yet remains Clay, but hardened, so that it cannot be corrupted by Water; so it will be in the Day of a Rising again, that Passions of Bodies would be changed, and they would be purged thoroughly from Dregs and Filthinefs flowing from Matter. Softneſs of Clay is taken away by the Power of Fire which rendered it liable to the Injury of Water, the same Substance remaining; how much more by the Efficacy of the Divine Power from Bodies, themselves remaining the same, what rendered them obnoxious to Corruption and Change would be taken away? Badly therefore *Abarbinel* will have this to be accounted the common Opinion of Christians, that is to say that Men in no other Respect rise up again the same, than because the same Soul is to form different Bodies. Let him seek for others whom this can be dashed against. And what but he having forgotten himself, first of all withstands himself? I had rather he should stand or fall by another Judge than me, to wit, by *Manasse Ben Israel* of his own Tribe, whose Words in the Second Book of a Rising again, Chap. XV. are these, *R. Hasdai* and *R. David Kimchi* [as it is clear from the Things which he observes at the End of *Malachi* of the Body of *Elia*] suppose God in a Rising again of the Dead to produce new Bodies indued with the same Quantity, Quality, and Temper, and with a Form and Figure equal to the former, and to pour upon those Bodies their own Souls; and since the Operations of the Soul follow the Measure of the Body from thence it will be, that the same Man in Parts will be raised up; and for this Reason that Action properly can be called a Raising up again of the Dead. *Isaak Abravanel* in his Book *Nabalat Abot* [in that which is commended by us] follows the same Opinion, and

and the self-same *Mahumedan Abu Chamed*. But as much as it seems to me, this Error is not unlike the former: For be it so that a Body indued with the same Form and Figure is restored, yet it ceases not to be another Body in Number, like as Statues worked exquisitely by an Artist, wholly of the same Form and Figure, cannot be called one and the same Statue in Number. And since the End of the Resurrection is, that the same Body joined to the Soul should be rewarded or punished for its Deeds, who sees not this cannot be, if the Body be new and contrary in Number? These Things says that most learned Jew. Does not therefore *Abarbinel* himself, who for the Sake of this accuses the Christians who teach no such Thing, that in vain they profess themselves to affirm a Resurrection, while that they resolve Bodies divers from the former at that Time to be fashioned with Souls, stumble upon the same Stone? Who might have heard him upbraiding the Christians with these Things would not easily believe; but he who hath read his Words which we have alledged cannot doubt concerning him. The Words of *R. David* which *Manasseb* intimates are as follow, *הנה אני שולחכם אֲפָף עַל פִּישָׁאנוּ מִזְהִירָנָם עַל תּוֹרָת* *משֵׁה בְּכָל דָּוָר וְדָוָר אֲפָף עַל פִּי כִּן לְטוֹבָתָכָם אֲשֶׁר לְכָם אֶת אֲלֵיהוּ הַנְּכִיא וְהַטָּעַם שִׁוּשִׁיב נְשָׁמָתוֹ שְׁעַלְתָּה לְשָׁמָיִם אֶל גּוֹף נְגַרְאָן כְּנוּפָיו הַרְאֵשׁן כִּי גּוֹפָו הַרְאֵשׁן שֶׁב אֶל הָאָרֶץ בְּעַלְתוֹ כָּל יְסָד אֶל יְסָדוֹ וְאַחֲרַ שִׁיחָיוֹתָה אָתוֹ בְּנוֹף יְשַׁלְחָנוּ לִיְשָׁרָאֵל לִפְנֵי יוֹם הַמִּשְׁפָּט וְהַוָּא יוֹם *הִשָּׁה הַגְּדוֹלָה* *Behold I send unto you Elias, &c.* Although in every Age I put you in Mind of the Law of *Moses*, nevertheless for your Advantage I send unto you *Elia* the Prophet, the Sense*

Sense is, he will send the Soul of him who is gone away into Heaven into a Body which will be created like his former Body, because his former Body is returned to the Earth when he ascended, every Element to its Element; and after he hath made him alive in the Body, he will send him to *Israel* before the Day of Judgment, which is the great and dreadful Day of the Lord, &c. *Joseph Albo Ikkar*, *lib. iv. c. 30.* reciting the Opinion of *Abron Levita* avouches him to have affirmed, that God in the Time of a Rising again is to form anew for every one another Body wholly under the same Constellation with that in which it was to every one from his Beginning without any Difference at all; the Absurdity of which about the End he deservedly reproves. For faith he how is it possible that by a Motion of the Heavens, all the Pious who in various Times have been, can be brought over to that State, that all can have one Constellation, suitable to the former, in the same Hour, common to all? Moreover suppose this to be possible, it would be a new Creation, not a Rising again.

R O O T IV.

Another Root to which the Things which are to be said of this Article seemed by Abarbinel to be referred.

In what Age at last, and in what State Men will arise; since daily almost for the Reason of Nourishments, and the divers Chances which from without happen to it, also of Ages childish, youthful, of a Man or belonging to Age, Changings by Course the State and Measure of the Bodies changed? He answers, quite and clean in the same Manner, and State,

State, they will rise again in which they had died ; so that according to the Tradition of the wise Men, even with Blemishes, if any were in them, they are to rise again ; to wit, whereby by this they may the better be known from others [which Spots nevertheless will immediately be healed] rather also with the same Garments or at least generally the like with which they were buried, according to that which by *R. Meir* it is reported to have been answered to *Cleopatra* demanding whether they who will rise again will rise again naked or clothed with their Garments. By an Argument drawn from the greater to the lesser ; as a Grain of Wheat which is buried naked grows up wrapped in so many Garments, how much more the Pious, which are buried with Garments ? Although *Abarbinel* acknowledges this which is said of the Garments, may be expounded of the Body itself which is called Apparel. Howsoever it be nothing hinders least that God the Creator of all Things may perform this or that. And he affirms the same *Root VII. Pref. to Is.* The greatest Part of those Things which here *Abarbinel* gathers together deservedly with *Rambam* we may place among those which by the mere Loss of Time are wont to be demanded by Men without good Employment, while leaving those Things which they both can and ought to know they curiously follow after those which by themselves are neither possible to be known, nor profitable insomuch that the self-same might suffice which is prudently answered by *R. Josua* to one more curiously searching about Things tending to the State of a future Life when they will revive we shall know them ; nevertheless least any one should judge these Things to be said frankly by us, and wish to know what by *Rabbins* not of the inferior Form are set up of these Things, may I add,

to those which are brought by *Abarbinel*, and some from others of the same Quality, and first *R. Saadias* determined [from the Opinion of the Fore-fathers] the Dead will rise again with the same Garments with which they were buried, which he avouches is no more difficult to be done than to restore to the same their own Bodies: When this Opinion grew strong among them they exceeded Measure at great Costs in providing Garments wherewith the Dead might be wrapped in, so that it was a Cause of great Evil, since if they had somebody dead who had poorer Abilities they would flee leaving the Dead until *Rabban Gamaliel* ordered, and gave it in Commands that they should infold his ownself in two white Sheets, and whom and then all imitated, **עד שהביא זה הדבר**, **לידי רעה גדולה*** *Secondly*, As to those who died maimed of Members or otherwise lame and deformed, he ordained themselves will be raised up, with that first Defect whereby it might be known by Men the same to be the self-same who before had lived, and then God will heal the same, and that will be a perfect Sign, as the *Rabbins* said, *They will rise with Spots and then will be healed*, therefore they said he set before. Deut. xxxii. *I have killed, and I make alive, I have smitten, and will heal.* They said also, *Then the Eyes of the Blind shall be opened, and the Ears of the Deaf, then the Lame shall leap like a Hart, and the Tongue of the Dumb shall sing.* *Juda Zabara* hath almost the same, c. 11. **UMBOWAD CI BETHAYIT HEMATH YUMDO**. It is manifest in the Resurrection of the Dead themselves will rise again in the same State in which they were at the Hour of Death, *viz.* blind, lame, crook-backed will have themselves in the same

* Not. Misc. p. 132.

† Ibid. p. 133.

Manner. So in *Bereš. Rab.* they say, *I have smitten and I will heal*: to wit, because the same with the Spots, which out of the World they brought with them, I will restore to Life, that so they may know one another nor say **עֲלָם חֶרְשׁ הָוּא** it is a new World, [*and I will heal*] viz. *I will heal them in the other Age.* It is manifest also [he saith] that the Just will not rise again naked, as they were in the first Creation according to that which is written, *And they were both naked*, to wit, *Adam* and his Wife, but will rise again clothed with beautiful Garments, agreeable to every one, lest they should be stained or dyed with Shame, since all have eaten up of the Tree of Knowledge. That which to *Adam* was the Cause why he was not ashamed of his Nakedness he says was the Force of the Prophecy and an excellent Knowledge, with which he was indued, which he says is evident from the Example of *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* xix. 24. who for a Time being inspired with a prophetic Spirit went naked, because the prophetic Power which was in him deprived his Body of the Sense of corporeal Things. How much more is *Adam* to be thought so to be, until by eating the forbidden Tree, he had lost those excellent Gifts? But this is not necessarily to be understood of the same Garments wherewith they had been buried, since they without doubt have been consumed, but God will make for the same Garments as are fit for every one of the same. Cautious this is observed by himself that so many Objections which were in the Way may be prevented of those who perhaps spoiled of their Garments, or buried naked, were either cast forth in the Sea naked, or shut up in a leather Sack, and that sometime he might free the Dead from great Anguish of Mind. The same notes this Argument [from the lesser to the greater] taken from

Wheat is not necessarily concluding, but frail and weak for many Reasons.

R O O T V.

Since he puts this out of Doubt, [which nevertheless in the XIIIth Root he endeavours to shew, which therefore this was to have placed behind] that not all the Dead were to rise again, which he thinks proved by those Words of *Daniel*, *Many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall awake*, Dan. xii. 2. he demands who therefore will rise again, whether by Chance, and as it happens? and how should it be that one before another should be raised up? He answereth, At the Hour of Death it is ordained of Men, whether they are to have a Share or not in the Resurrection of the Dead, and they are to be raised up again who in Comparison of the others in Perfection have been eminent, and the Thing will be finished according to the Works which in this Life they have performed; insomuch that a just Man may judge from his own Works of the Reward laid up for himself, and know whether he is to be a Partaker of the Resurrection or not, as in that Saying of the Angel to *Daniel*, *Thou shalt stand in thy Lot in the End of the Days*, in the Lot due to thee, and from whence that Saying of the *Rabbins*, *The Blessed God will shew to the Pious in this World, what Reward they should bring back again in the future World*.

This Place is very frequent in the Mouth of the Jews when they speak of the Article of the Resurrection, to wit which [with that which last out of the same Chapter is commended] almost is alone [*Maimonides* being Witness] which cannot be wrested to another Matter, nor pulled away from a literal

ral to an allegorical Sense ; though other Places most certainly persuade the same, to wit the Dead are to rise again, yet *R. Juda Zabara* avoucheth they are such like which some perverse Striver might by wrangling and jangling misinterpret, that they may be called parabolically brought forth to signify some other Thing. Nor certainly do there seem to be wanting who may think these Words to be so interpreted, as *Aben Ezr.* and *Joseph Albo* relate, Book 4. c. 35. and as it is clear from those which *R. Saadia* in Book *Emunoth.* c. 7. hath, where he sharply glances upon those who take to themselves such Liberty of following close Allegories all abroad, כי אם יתחיב או יכשר שנסbor, פרשיות האלה אשר יש בהם תהיה המתים על הדרכיהם האלה עד שנעתקו מפשוטם מבלי דוחק שיביא אל זה יתחיב ויכשר על הדрок הזה לסבור במציאות השמעות וההנחות הקדמניות והאותות הנכחות סבירות אהרות עד שלא ישאר מהם דבר בפשוטו אך יעתקו אל ענייניהם אחרים For if [faith he] it should become or be expedient to understand these Texts in which is Mention of the Resurrection of the Dead in such Manner, so that they should be conveyed from their plain Sense no Necessity in forcing, it will also become and be expedient for the same Reason whatsoever Precepts depending upon Hearing, antient Narrations, and Miracles of which Mention is in the Way, to understand otherwise, so that not one of them can retain a plain Sense but may be interpreted to other Significations. Saith he, where we are commanded to abstain from Leavened, they will say, Adultery is forbidden, which otherwise is compared to leavened Bread, whereto kindle a Fire, to be understood of War, which

which is compared elsewhere to Fire breaking in, &c. where it is said, God in the Beginning the Heavens, and the Earth to have created, it will be permitted to be interpreted of the Things rightly by him set in Order of any Country, because speaking of the Things disturbed of our Country, he saith, *Jer. iv. 23. I beheld the Earth, and lo, it was without Form and Void; and the Heavens, and they had no Light*, &c. so when he saith, *Let there be Lights*, will be hinted, the Law and the Prophets and Wisdom because it is said, *A Command is a Candle, and the Law Light*, &c. neither will there be any thing in the universal Work of the Creation which may not be expounded allegorically, nothing any where in the Writings of the Prophets and holy Writings to that Pass that wholly no Miracle or Sign could remain which not turned aside from its plain Understanding may be shifted off and go away in vain, **עד שלא יאשר מופת ולא אותן שלא יצא מפשטו ויבטלו** which Liberty of interpreting who will indulge to himself deservedly fails out of the Number of those who profess the *Jewish Law*. And much certainly in all Ages hath the Truth suffered from two Kinds of Men, one of those who turn all Things into Allegories and Sense (which they falsely call) spiritual, the other of those who expound all Things barely and to the Letter. By these God is feigned corporeal, fixed to a Chair, liable to Affections of all Manners or Fashions, and Reason and Scripture are put together among themselves by an endless Disputation; by these the Foundation of the Truth itself is taken away, nor any thing of solid, wherein the *Faith of the Believing* can settle itself, is left. As we have seen the first here reproached by *R. Saadia* so the latter

in the former by *Maimonides*. In the mean time while that in this we assent to these Masters, because they command these Testimonies of the Resurrection to be understood in a proper Sense, yet we ask for their Faith in this because they which teach it to be universal, they restrain to a few: And will have **רְנִים** many, found the same as **מְעֻטִים** a few. As *Joseph Albo*, Book iv. c. 35. but of these [as we have said] he treats more largely Art. XIII. to which these, though sent before, may be in the Room of a little Thing belonging to the Principal.

R O O T XII.

According to the Opinion of *Ramban* God hath which he exerciseth in the World, **שְׁלַשְׁׂה מִינֵי דְנֵין** three Sorts of Judgments. The first upon the first Day **רְחֵב** of the Year entering upon to be performed every Year, in which Men are given by Judgment **לְחִיָּם וּלְמוֹת** to Life or Death, and as is delivered in *Musaph*, or the addititious Liturgy of this Day, what Cities are destinatated to Destruction, which will enjoy Peace, &c. whereof no Reason is rendered in the *Gemara*, but in *Bereishith Rabba* this, because since in the Beginning of the Year *Adam* was made and in the same Day judged, the Lord hath said unto him, as thou this Day art judged, so it will be that thy Sons upon this very Day should be judged. At the same time he warneth by that which he faith is pronounced of the Life and Death of Men, is not so much to be understood, whether they are to live or die, as whether **יְהִי חַיָּה מָטוּבִים** their Life will be happy and prosperous, which is only to be accounted for Life, or hard and calamitous, which is to be reckoned

oned for Death. To this is agreeable what is said in the *Gemara* three Books to be opened in the Beginning of every Year, the first of the perfectly just, the second, of the perfectly wicked, the third, of the middle [between them] and what in *Mishna*, at four standing Times the World is judged. For in the *Pascha* it is ordained of a Crop or Increase of the Earth; at עזראת *azrath* the Pentecost, of the Fruits of Trees; in the Year going into all who come into the World will be made to tarry before God like מרכז *carban* Lambs; in חג *chag* [the Feast of Tabernacles] Judgment is declared upon the Waters. The first Judgment he faith concerneth the Body and the Things of the Body, the second Judgment is when the Soul removes from the Body, for then it is resolved of every Man according to his Works the Good will be admitted into *Gan Eden* or Paradise, the Bad thrust down into *Gekenna* Hell, the Middle excluded from Joy will remain some Days until either their Souls are cleansed, or God according to his Mercy, forgiving their Offences esteems them as innocent. Infomuch that his Judgment is proper to the Soul, when of it it is questioned whether thou hast pitched upon certain Hours for the Study of the Law? or if thou hast diligently hunted or traced Knowledge, &c. of these two Judgments between both *Moses*, *Maimonides* and *Nachmanides* it is agreed. The third will be at last after the Resurrection of the Dead, to wit the Great Day of Judgment in which the whole World will be judged of which they have spoken, Ch. 1. of *Rosh Hashana*, where the Sect of *Shimei* says Men will be distributed into three Forms in the Day of Judgment; the first, of those who are perfectly evil; the second, of the perfectly good; the

* Ibid. p. 150, 151.

third,

third, of the middle ; the perfectly good will be adjoined and signed to the Life of the World to come ; the perfectly evil will be adjoined and signed immediately to Hell, according to that of *Daniel* xii. 2. *Many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt* : But the middle, whose Merits are equal to their Sins, will descend into Hell, and there will howl and then ascend, as it is said, and *I will extend the third Part through Fire*, and concerning whom *Hannah* also said, *The Lord killeth and maketh alive, he bringeth low, and lifteth up*. But the Followers of *Hillel*, The Lord who is great of Mercy, inclines to Mercy, that is what *David* says, *I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard the Voice of my Prayer*, Ps. cxvi. 1. unto at, *I am lessened, and he will keep me*. And as Rabbi *Salomo* explains these Words, three Forms of the Day of Judgment ; that Day, says he, is appointed to judge all Men, as it is written, *The Day of the Lord is great and terrible*, to whom also very much learned Men agree. *Ramban Gamul* says concerning this great Judgment, next to their Opinion they said in the *Mishna*, c. in the *Cheleck*, The Generation of the Flood will have no Share in the future World, nor will stand in Judgment. The Inhabitants of *Sodom* will have no Lot in the World to come, yet will stand in Judgment. Of that likewise the Prophet speaks, *Is. iii. 13. The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the People* ; with other not a few Texts of Scripture which speak of that future Judgment, to wit, that it will be common to both Body and Soul. In *Mecilta* they said, If you will observe the Sabbath you will be freed from the Decree of taking Revenge, and from the Day of *Gog and Magog*, and from the Sorrows of the *Messias*, and from the Day

of the great Judgment. The wise Men also said, when the Witch brought up *Samuel* he feared lest the Day of Judgment had arrived, therefore he said, *Why hast thou raised me up, to make me to ascend?* *Ramban* also wrote, that although in every one of these Judgments Men are distinguished into three Forms, nevertheless there is a Difference between them. *First*, That the first Judgment is only of the Body, the second only of the Soul, the third of both together. *Secondly*, That in the second Judgment the perfectly Just are received into *Gan Eden* in the World of Souls, yet nevertheless there they do not receive the Reward of Commands, but in the third Judgment they receive the last Reward, or the highest Degree of Reward. *Thirdly*, That in the second Judgment the perfectly Wicked are presently joined and signed to *Gehenna*, and are judged, nevertheless are not quite cut down, but in the great Judgment they are cut down from eternal Life, and are again sent away into *Gehenna*, to be tormented for ever. *Fourthly*, That in the second Judgment Men of a middle State howl, beseech they may be brought into a Place of Rest, and their Judgment endureth for twelve Months after which *Gehenna* vomiting them up they are delivered to Silence: But in that third great Judgment those Men of a middle State again are judged or tormented, which being finished, their Body is consumed, their Soul is burnt with Fire, and the Wind disperseth them under the Soles of the Feet of just Men. So, saith he, is this Opinion as *Ramban* hath ordered it, which to call back to Trial, that what in it is false may be distinguished from true is not of this Place, that elsewhere he will do this and in *Zedek Olam* he hath done it, here it sufficeth that it may be supposed in this World are exercised of God three Kinds of

Judgment. For the Words taken from the first Chapter of the *Talmudick Tract*, intituled *Ros Hashana*, in *Nachmanides**, are as follow, **צדיקים נמוריים נכתבים ונחתמים לאלטר לחיים**
רשעים נמוריים נכתבים לאלטר למוותה בינוין
 תלוי ועמדין בראש השנה ועד יום הכפורות
זכו נכתבים לחיים לא זכו למוותה *Perfectè*
justi adscribuntur & obsignantur statim vitæ, perfectè mali statim adscribuntur & obsignantur morti: medii suspensi [seu dubii] manent ab initio anni usque ad diem expiationum; si meriti fuerint, vitæ adscribuntur, sin minus morti. The perfectly Just are out of Hand adjoined and assigned to Life, the perfectly Evil are out of Hand adjoined and signed to Death: The middle stopped [or doubtful] remain from the Beginning of the Year unto the Day of Expiations; if they are deserving, they are adjoined to Life, if not, to Death. Where he advises, the perfectly Just, and the perfectly Evil, is understood with respect to the Work which they have now done last, insomuch that for this Reason he who in Truth is bad [like *Achab*] in this Judgment which looks upon this Life may be accounted for Just, who is Pious [nor inferior to some of the Prophets] for Wicked, since God in this World rewards the good Deeds of the Wicked, and takes Punishment of the Wicked for their Sins: But with respect to the future Age there is another Reason of them, and a Sentence is otherwise declared of them.

Maimonides seems to have made no Account of the third, considering that he had thought no other Sentence was to be expected by the universal Multitude of Men than what is declared of every one

* Ibid. p. 153.

at the Hour of natural Death ; and therefore nothing is to be understood by the Name of the future World, but that State into which every one is conveyed immediately after Death, there to remain for ever and ever, except those who in the Time of their Resurrection being sent back into this World, will return thither again, the Cloaths put off of the Body, in order perhaps to enjoy greater Glory, for he elegantly affirms this Chap. 8. Sect. 8. *Halec Teshuba*, therefore it is not called the future World, because it is not now found, or that it succeeds this at last when destroyed ; but because *

This Life falls to a Man after the Life of this World wherein we are, whereas *Ramban*, that State which receives the Just immediately after Death, will have different from that which enjoys the Name of the future World, and that it is called the Garden of *Eden*, i. e. Paradise ; whereas the future World is properly that which follows the Universal Judgment, which is diverse from that particular one, in which it is ordained of every one at the Hour of his Death. But that he thus de-

scribes, **יש לדעת רבותינו עוד يوم מועד לדין עמים והוא יום שהנביאים מיעדין אותו הנה יום בא כוועך כתנור ואמר מלאכי יום יי' הנדול והנורא ואמר ישעה כי כמו שנדונינו בראש השנה על הי' העולם הזה ונידון כל אדם ביום מותתו על שכר נפשו ועונש ניתנים בן נידוני הכל ביום מתחלת מות התchia על עניין אותו שכר העתיד לעולם הבא אם ראוי לתחיות המתים ולנעם הנוף והנפש באותו ומן וכן כתוב באותו העת ורבים מישוני**

* Not. Misc. p. 153.

† Ibid. p. 155.

אדמתה עפר יקיצו אלה לחי עולם ואלה
 לחרפות לדראון עולם והם הרשעים כנון אומות
 העולם עכום שיגמור דין לדראון עולם
 ושלא יגעמו בחיים ההם אלא ישארו בדראון
 שליהם או יכפל עלייהם עונש מכרה קשה
 לרעה ממנה כפי מה שנתחיבנו *Est secundum
 opinionem majorum nostrorum dies conditū etiam
 judicandis populis, qui est dies quem promittunt nobis
 Prophetæ, Mal. iv. 1 & 5. Ecce dies venit ardens
 instar clibani, dixitque Malachi, dies Domini mag-
 nus & terribilis, & Isaiah, &c. Sicut enim judi-
 cantur initio anni quod ad hujus mundi vitam, & de
 unoquoque horâ mortis suæ statuitur quod ad præmium
 animæ ipsius, & pœnam Gehennæ, ita die quodam
 è diebus resurrectionis prioribus judicantur omnes re-
 spectu præmii quod accepturi sunt in mundo futuro,
 utrum dignus sit quis resurrectione mortuorum & vo-
 luptate corporis & animæ isto tempore futurâ; atque
 scriptum est, Et illo tempore multi è dormientibus
 in terræ pulvere exergiscentur, hi ad vitam æter-
 nam, alii ad opprobrium & contemptum sempiter-
 num, qui sunt improbi, e. g. Gentes Idololatriæ,
 quorum judicium ad contemptum sempiternum deter-
 minabitur, & ut ne vitâ illa delitientur, sed maneant
 in eo quo sunt contemptu, vel ut duplicetur illis pœna
 à statu malo ad pejorem prout meriti sunt. " There
 " is, according to the Opinion of our Ancestors,
 " a Day appointed to judge the People, which is
 " the Day the Prophets promise us, *Malach. iv.*
 " *1 and 5. Bebold, the Day cometh that shall burn*
 " *like an Oven. The Day of the Lord is great and*
 " *terrible. For like as they are judged in the*
 " *Beginning of the Year as far as relates to the*
 " *Life of the present World, and upon every one*
 " *at the Hour of natural Death it is appointed as*
 " *to**

" to the Reward of his Soul, and the Punishment
 " of Hell, so in one of the former Days of the
 " Resurrection all are judged with respect to the
 " Reward which they will receive in the future
 " World, whether any one be worthy of the Re-
 " surrection of the Dead and of the Pleasure of
 " the Body and the Soul in that future Time; and
 " therefore it is written, * *And in that Time many*
 " *of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth shall*
 " *awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame*
 " *and everlasting Contempt*; which are the Wicked,
 " e. g. Idolatrous Nations, whose Judgment will
 " be determined to everlasting Contempt, and that
 " they should not be delighted in that Life, but
 " remain in that Contempt in which they are, or
 " that their Punishment should be doubled to them
 " from an evil Estate to a worse as they have de-
 " served." He seems therefore to find Fault with
Maimonides, that making no Mention of the Uni-
 versal Judgment, he confounds the **העולם הבא**
Olam Habba, which is the highest Degree of Fe-
 licity, with the Garden of *Eden* previous to that
 Reward, and less perfect, and out of the Pains of
Gehenna those which now to *Gan Eden*, and Para-
 dise are opposite and go before that Judgment with
 those more grievous which follow it. The Garden
 of *Eden* in the mean time is understood in a two-
 fold Sense; first it signifies a terrestrial Paradise
 properly so called; secondly in a figurative Sense,
 a State of Place wherein the Souls of just Men
 enjoy Felicity after they are departed this Life;
 and which otherwise is called **צדור החיים** the
 Bundle of Life, and **כתר בכור** *Solium Gloriæ*, the
 Throne of Glory, under which the Souls of Just
 are said to be laid up, and **עליה** *Canaculum*, a Sup-

ping Room above Stairs, **ישיבה של מעלה** *Confessus seu Schola superior*, an Assembly seated on Benches or higher School; never the *Olam Habba*, future World. Therefore every where, concerning every just Man who is dead, in the *Talmud* it is said, he is **בן עין** *Bigan Eden*, in Paradise; never in the World to come, or rather **נומן לחי המלים**

dba prepared for the World to come. *Joseph Albo* to take away this Difference between *Rambam* and *Ramban*, says the *Olam Habba*, is used otherwise more common and familiar for the future Reward, or more happy State, to which the Soul is transported after Death, **הן המדרגה הבאה לו**

לאדם אחר תחיתת המתים Whether it be understood that Degree which comes to a Man at last after the Resurrection of the Dead, or that immediately after Death; otherwise more strictly, and **סתם** singly, for that Degree after the Resurrection: The first Sense is understood where it is said, *Every Israelite bath a Lot in the World to come*; the latter where, *They are they who have no Lot in the World to come*: For there is understood concerning that Degree of Felicity of which they are Partakers after the Resurrection of the Dead, **יום הדין הגדול שבו אחר תחיתת המתים** and the Day of great Judgment which after the Resurrection of the Dead, which is of the perfectly Just, who will be Partakers of the Resurrection, when they merit by performing greater Commands than before; when that previous inferior Degree falls out to every *Israelite*, and every one of them is to win some Share and Degree in the *Olam Haneshamoth*, World of Souls, as also **חסידי אומות העולם** the Pious of other Nations. That inferior Degree within twelve Months after Death he faith is called **גן עדן** *Gan Eden*; by which Name

מדרגה הטרה מתוך יב' חדשים is denoted
 ולאחר יב' חדשים יעלה למדרגה ממדרגות
 העולם הבא והיא מדרגת שלמות וכבוד that im-
 perfect Degree within twelve Months, after which
 any one is promoted to a certain Degree of the
 Degrees of the World to come, to wit, of Per-
 fection and Glory ; then it is said their Souls are
 laid up under the Throne of Glory. In Ch. 34.
 he saith the Souls of just Men according to the
 Opinion of the Ancients during the first twelve
 Months ascend and descend, being not yet affixed
 to a Place ; but that Space being finished, the
 Spirit ascends, so that it descends no more, **אבל**
לאחר יב' חדשים נשמה עולה ואינה יורדת by
 which he would have it hinted that even the Souls
 of just Men are not easily withdrawn from that
 Desire of earthly Things, to which they have been
 habituated ; the Time of purging and purifying
 are determined to twelve Months **כלומר זמן מקיף**
בד' תקופות שהם כוללים כל החלופות שיקרו
 as if he should say, the Time in which the
 four Seasons of the Year turn back, which com-
 prehend all Events of Time. Therefore within
 twelve Months the Witch, a Woman possessed
 with an evil Spirit of Soothsaying, could call
 up *Samuel*. *Elias* only is still treated of to ascend
 and descend. Of an explaining of this Opinion,
 to wit, twelve Months Souls ascend and descend,
Ramban may be consulted c. *Gamul* of his 103d
 Leaf what they say, **ער יב' חדש גופו קיים ונשמרו**
עליה יודת לאחר שנים עשר חדש גופו בטל
 for twelve Months his Body abides constantly, and his Soul ascends and
 descends, afterwards the Body is corrupted, and
 the Soul ascending descends no more, says he the
 Sense

Sense is so long as the Strength of the Body remains to it, and the Soul inclines to Opinions and Facts to which it hath been accustomed ; which Inclinableness after twelve Months it puts off, and puts on an angelical Nature, **לבשה מלאכות** and it is crowned with a Crown of the future World. Therefore Souls for those twelve Months are by the Ancients placed in a terrestrial Paradise in a true Sense, nor yet absolute, but at the Time of the Resurrection obtain a true Paradise properly called. I shall add a few Things by which *Eben Latiph* imbibed this Opinion from *Nachmanides* and others, in the following Words, **הענש הגמור**

הוא הכרת הנפש ממולח זו ואבדה רצוני
לומר אפיקתה ווזזו הכרת הנאכਰ בתורה והוא
מאמר החכם עה בתמייה ואיך ימות החכם
עם הכתיל כלומי הייך יתכן שימות החכם
עם הכתיל כי נפש החכם תאשר אחר
מותו ונפש הכתיל תלך אל הפשה Perfect Punishment [faith he] is, that the Soul be cut down from that Degree [to wit of Felicity where-with the Souls of the Pious are affected in the Presence of the Divine Majesty] and Perdition [to wit that it be not henceforth or be reduced to nothing] which is Destruction of which Mention is made in the Law, and that is what the admired wise Man faith, and how dieth a wise Man as a Fool ? As if he had said, How should if be that a wise Man should die as a Fool ? Whereas the Soul of the wise Man remains after Death, but the Soul of the Fool goes to Failing, or ceaseth to be, &c. and he is busy or earnest about to prove the same Thing with divers Testimonies from *Job*, &c. and the Words of *David* **יהדר כסיל ובער יאבדו**

ילכו לאבדון שהוא האפמה he thus expounds they go away into Perdition which is *ἀπὸ ωνσις τέλειωσι* a Ceasing to be as, and in *Proverbs of Afisat hasharot* loitering or ceasing to abide constantly he said, [he saith] כי לא תהיה אחרית *לרע* there will not be a Remnant to the Wicked, the Candle of the Wicked shall be put out. This wise Man [saith he] resembles the Soul to a Candle, by saying, *The Spirit of Man is the Candle of the Lord*. Weigh [saith he] these two Places and see how they confirm Reward and Punishment spiritual, and pertaining to the Soul, and the *Mahot* [if with the *Barbarians* I may so speak] of Reward they determine *hasharot* abiding constantly, but of Punishment *afisat hasher* that Reward should cease, [unless perhaps rather it be said *הנפש* the Soul] to prove which he also addeth other Places, of what Sort, he saith, many in the Scriptures come in the Way, *ולא באן איש שם על לב* but no one applies his Mind to them. The same while a certain Proverb of the Ancients tending to the same End, he interprets, he avoucheth *Gan Eden* to be *כינוי השכר* of Reward, and *Gehennam* כינוי אפיסטה a Title of a Want of it. Yet these Things, Ch. xxvi. of Tract the 1st which so he concludes as the Souls of the Just have many Degrees of Rewards some more excellent than the others, so the Souls which are given by Judgment to Punishment have various Degrees of Punishment like as some exceed others in Impiety every one according to his own Impiety, *מקצתן יהיה עונשן תמיוני וקיים לעדי עד ומקצתן גניע עונשן וריזורי המרkon לגבול ידוע כפי הוב רעתיהן*

* Not. Misc. p. 16c.

רעתיהם ומעשיהם ומקצתן תלבנה לאפיקת
 for the Punishment of some will be everlasting and
 abiding constantly the Punishment of others and
 purifying Chastisement, which purge from the
 Corruption of Sin, attain unto a certain Term
 according to the Account of their Opinions and
 Deeds; others are reduced to nothing. From thence
 Ch. 28. where he quotes that Saying of the *Rab-*
bins, after twelve Months their Body is consumed,
 Soul is burnt with Fire and the Wind scattereth
 them under the Soles of the Feet of just Men as
 if pertaining to that Form which in the Words of
Alfarabius they call the *City of Fools*, of those who
 neither know nor seek for, nor affect, nor do good
 Works by those they are burnt with Fire, he saith
 is understood **שלא תשר מציאות לנשימותם** **כלל**
 their Spirits will no more be Survivors,
 which he saith is, **הענש הנמור והכרת המוחלט** perfect Punishment,
 and absolute Destruction, and Loosing and Cor-
 ruption which never returns **והוא הענש הנדול שבתני העונשים** which is a Punishment among
 all Shapes of Punishments the greatest. After-
 wards the Souls of those who prefix the mischievous
 City **המדינה מרשות** [to wit of those who
 know true Things, though they pursue evil] when
 they are separated from Matter, and Things de-
 sirable to themselves, by contrary Affections, which
 they have partly contracted from the Knowledge
 of good Things, which withdraws them from
 Matter, partly from the Custom of evil Things,
 which compel them to desire the same, are con-
 tinually tortured, and hurried away into different

* Not. Misc. p. 161.

ותשיג הנפש מן החרפבים great Evil laying held up on the Soul, from these Contraries, and this Grief is increased by a Partnership of those like themselves &c. so this Punishment is the second Shape of those which נייחנים hear *Gebenna*. And this is תמידי וקיים לעדי עולם continually to endure, which is contrary to the Joy, also הפק חי העולם הבא to the Life of the World to come. Of those it is said by the wise Men, Hereticks, Apostates, Traitors, Voluptuous, who separate themselves from the Ways of the Congregation, who have been accustomed to cast in their Terror into the Land of the Living, &c. descend into *Gebenna*, and there are tormented for ever, as it is said, *Their Worm not to die*. He saith the third Shape of Punishments which are comprised by the Name *Gebenna* is of those Middle which they call them, who the *Rabbins* say are to descend into *Gebenna* with Yelling and then ascend. Yet he seemeth in the mean time in this to differ from *Rambam* because he thinks the Souls of all Lewd are to be disanulled, this [that as well others] of some only; verily whom he stiles the Citizens of the third Form. The Books of *Abu Nasser Alfarabii* which this Author quotes, are to which he hath put in the Titles the Book of the excellent City, the foolish City, and the mischievous City. The Opinion of *Nachmanides*, whereby he defines the Destruction of Souls in the other Age, or *Chereth*, is not a little different from this as it seemeth to found, by which Name הענש הנדול greatest Punishment he saith is called, and that it is באמת אבדון הנפש in very Deed the Destruction of the Soul, and such like by which

עונש וצער no other could be understood than Penalty and Affliction, since that it is the Nature of the rational Soul which is in Ungodly, that it cannot die like others, if it were so ordered **אשריה** how great a Felicity would this be to it !
 כי הוא השכר הנורול והגמל הנכבר certainly a great Reward, and rare Recompence. That therefore the wise Men said, some a Space of twelve Months are tormented in *Gebenna* on Account of their Works, and then their Souls are burnt **וְהַנְּעַשֵּׂין אֶפְרַיִם** and reduced to Ashes, so it is to be understood, that they are wholly changed from that State, in which they were like a Thing which wasted with Flames turns to Ashes ; and then the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Rest and Benevolence, scattereth them under the Soles of the Feet of the Just, *i.e.* to place them in a Degree which is less than the Delight of the Pious, and the Calmness of them, to wit, in a Degree in which not, as before, they should be liable to Pains and Torments, neither yet should enjoy Pleasantnes and Delight like the Just. But the Howling and then Ascending, which they mention, their Judgment being finished to be exalted to a Degree in which is Serenity and Pleasure, but not like that which the Pious enjoy, according to that which is read in *Massechet Sabbath*, as well evil as middle, both are delivered to Silence, those **ישלחם מנוחה** enjoy Rest, to those **אין להם מנוחה** no Rest comes. Therefore God gives by Judgment the Souls of the chiefly Ungodly to such Punishments **שאינו מיכולת הנפש** **החותמת ההייה** as never consume them, like as it is said, because their Worm dieth not, and their Fire is not quenched : Of whose Unhappiness from this Part, may be resolved even at least from those **Things**

Things which are added to the Body, since it is better for him who is afflicted with cruel Torments that he should shortly die, than **שיחיה ימים רבים** that he should live many Days, neither should there be an End to his Punishment and Affliction. This Punishment of *Gebenna* presently comes unto the Ungodly after Death, considering that whose Souls, when grieved with the Weight of those Sins which separate them from God, they are hindered from reaching at Things above to which they are borne by natural Instinct, they are joined together with the Fire of *Gebenna*, and so are tormented with a double Torment, as well with what proceeds from the Contemplation of those Things which it is denied them to obtain, which is a Punishment beyond what can be thought grievous: Befides that which proceeds from the Flames of *Gebenna*: And this is the Signification of the Word *Chereth*; to wit, the Soul is cut down from its Principle like a Bough from a Tree from whom it draweth Life. Now truly *Chereth* or Destruction of which in the Law Mention is, is of a twofold Kind **לגוף ולנפש** the one of the Body, the other of the Soul. For there is when they who do any of those Things which make them obnoxious to Destruction suffer Punishment in the Body, while they die an untimely Death; so in the Treatise *Maschin* it is said **מת בן חמישים שנה זו היא מיתה כרת** If any one dieth at the Age of fifty Years, this is a Death of Destruction. It is otherwise when ungodly Men here enjoy a longer Life, whose Souls yet when separated from the Body are cut down **מהי נן עדן** from the Life of Paradise; this Sort is hinted, where it is said that Soul should be destroyed before

me

me and I will destroy this Soul ; accomplished
שנפו נברת מהי הולם הזה Destruction is
ונפשו נברתה אפילו מהי הולם הבא ואין that the Body of Man by
 Destruction should be taken away from the Life of
 this World, but his Soul also from the Life of the
 World to come, much more from the Life of Pa-
 radise, himself descending into *Gebenna*, that there
 he may be tormented for ever. This is hinted
הכרת תכרת הנפש היא עונה when it is said
ביה that Soul shall be utterly destroyed, his In-
 quity is upon him. And another Place may be
 brought of the same Author, out of Tract *Jesude*
Torah Ch. v. §. 4. (he saith) such an Idolator is
 called, an Idolator **במזיד** out of Pride, or, Pre-
 sumption, and he who **נטרד מן העה וiyorד למדרגה** is so disinherited from
התהותה של גהינם the future World shall descend into the lowest
 Degree of *Gebenna*. But here perhaps it may be
 retorted according to the Opinion of *Eben Latiph*
 agreeable to his Doctrine, already commended,
 the lowest Degree of *Gebenna* is accounted Anni-
 hilation of all Manners or Fashions, as if in Truth,
 to be for ever miserable, and to be tormented with
 eternal Torments, and those the highest of all,
 both of the Soul as of Body, were better, and
 more eligible than at all not to be : As some of
 us more wittily have played the Philosophers : To
 which is opposed not only that of *Nachmanides*
אשריה וטוב לה happy is that Soul and blessed
 which least that he should be afflicted with ever-
 lasting Punishment is even at least reduced to no-
 thing, but also that undoubted Axiom of Christ,
*Matt. xxvi. Καλὸν ήν αὐτῷ εἰ ἐγενήθη ὁ ἀνθρω-
 πῷ εὐεῖν*, it had been good for that Man if he

had not been born, which we have expressed almost to a Word in the *Talmud*, **נוֹחַ לוּ לְאָדָם שֶׁלֹּא נִבְרָא** it were better for a Man if he had never been created, than created, unless it were by Christ pronounced privately of the Son of eternal Perdition, by those Masters universally of the remainder Multitude of Men. For it is delivered down they disputed also of old Time about this Matter between the Disciples of *Shammæus* and *Hillel*, while these said it is better for any Man to have been created, than not created **כָּל מְצִיאוֹתָן נָבוֹן יוֹתֵר** to wit, for whom it were better in whatsoever Manner at least or State to exist than not to be at all : But those that it is better for a Man not to be created than created, therefore because they esteemed it more to be desired altogether not to be than to be extremely miserable, and to which that seemeth agreeable, *Eccles.* iv. 3. And to which may be added more from the same Ch. *Haggamul*, when he is very busy there in describing the Nature of infernal Fire, to wit to be **דָקָה מִן הַרְקָה** very subtil, and more slender than that it can properly be called a Body, therefore much to differ from the Fire of this World or of Elements, where as this towards the Soul of Man, although it should consume the Body, cannot exercise Force, but that **שׁוֹרֵף הַנְּפָשָׁות** burneth Souls ; such as [faith he] they who confess God created Souls and Spirits, ought not to deny, that he can create it, and put into it a Force, by which it can act against those Spirits, therefore he defines **מָקוֹם דִין הַמְשֻׁפֵּט לְעִנוּשׁ בּוֹ** *Gebenna* to be **הַחֲטָאִים בְּנֶפֶשָׁותָם בִּסּוּרֵי וַעֲרֵי שָׁאָן לְהַמִּ** a Place of just Judgment, in which Sinners suffer Punishments tormented with Punish-

Punishments in their Souls, to which none in this World are like; since the Punishments of this Age act against the Body only of a gross Nature, but those upon the Soul which is of a most pure Substance, and therefore by far they exceed those which who here can suffer, &c. And from those Things which have been alledged the Reader may judge also how he thinks is to be understood what is said by *Joseph Albo* l. iv. ch. 34. where he faith there be different Degrees of Punishments as of Sins. For it cannot be that he who by executing other Things hath deserved well, by others badly, **יהיה נדון תמיד בצער המופלג** should for ever be punished with extreme Anguish, when a shorter Space of Time **יספיק לשכח החרג והמנגה** might suffice to lead in a forgetting of the Things to which he hath been accustomed in this Life, to wit, twelve Months according to the Opinion of the Ancients, in which after that he hath suffered Punishment, **למדרנה מה** he is conveyed to some Degree of Reward, according to the Respect of Merits, but others that Space being finished in which they might unlearn the Things to which they have been accustomed, since they have no Merits for which they might be advanced to such a Degree or be Partners of any spiritual Good, **ישארו נעדרים** remain condemned to a Depriving and this is **כרת** Destruction to which in the Law the sinning Soul is given by Judgment, and of these it is said by the Ancients, twelve Months being finished their Body is wasted, Spirit burnt, and themselves by the Wind are scattered under the Soles of the Feet of just Men. But there are other Ungodly who their Souls abstracted to a certain Place are tormented **בעונש נצחי** with ever-

lasting Punishment, according to the Respect of Things done by them, as they who have denied the Law, and the Foundations of Faith, &c. But this Punishment in the foregoing Chapter he affirms to consist in this, that the Soul now separated from the Body is incessantly carried and pulled asunder into opposite Parts by contrary Desires never to be satisfied; [to wit, both towards those Things in this Life to which it hath been taken up and to which it hath been accustomed to be done in its corruptible Body depressed against its Nature, then in like Sort that it might be associated to higher Forms or separate Understandings, as is agreeable to its Nature] now seeking greedily spiritual Things to which it hath never yet been accustomed, and **אין לה התחלות ולמדו וחרג** it hath neither Principles, or Skill, or Custom (as neither henceforth Instruments to attain to those more gross) and so continually with ineffable Torment snatched into those contrary Parts **צד המעליה מצד הטבעה** to the higher Part or upward by the Force of Nature, **הצד המטה מצד החרגה** to the lower Part or downward by the Force of Use, and Custom is tormented, as if in Truth in Parts [if so of that which hath not Parts, it might be permitted to speak **נתינה** for the Sake of explaining] it could be divided. For while it is carried **לב צדדין כא'** **צד המעליה** **הצד המטה** **האחד מצד טבעה והא'** **מצד החרגה** **המנגה** **אין לה כלום** **במה שתתשוין** **צד המטה ולא הינה במה שתתשוין** **צד המעליה** in two Parts together, to wit, up and down, the one by the enforcing of Nature, the other by the Strength of Custom and Use, when it hath neither

Instru-

Instruments, whereby it might obtain the Things which are beneath, nor is it fitly disposed to embrace those which are above, this is a greater Rack to it **מִכָּל צָעֵר שְׁבָעוֹלָם וּמִכָּל מִינִי** **פְּרוֹק חָבּוֹר'** יותר מִשְׁרִיפָת אַשׁ וּוֹתֵר מִצְעֵר הַקּוֹדָר וְהַקְּרָה הַנּוֹרָא וּוֹתֵר מִהְבָּאוֹת סְכִינִים וְחַרְבּוֹת וְמִנְשִׁיכָת נְחִשָּׁם וְעַקְרָנִים

than any Torment which is in this World and all Means whereby those Things which are united are separated; more grievous than either a Burning of Fire, or Torment of Cold or most grievous Ice; than if it were dug through with Knives or Swords, bit by Serpents, or pricked by Scorpions. That the Ancients might explain that tormenting Punishment of contrary Appetites, they said, two Angels, standing the one at the one Part of the World another at the other, tossed it about out of a Sling by Turns one hither and thither after another, while the Souls of the Just under the Throne of Glory in the Presence of God **הַתְעִנּוֹג שְׁחוֹת** **מִכָּל הַתְעִנּוֹגָת** enjoy the greatest Pleasure of any which can be desired: And this he avouches he affirms out of the Doctrine of *Maimonides* who meaneth Reward and Punishment to be of the Soul only separate from the Body, when those who mean it to be of the Body and Soul together, must of Necessity affirm that God, as the Body from every Thing which rendereth it obnoxious to Corruption, he purgeth, whereby it might enjoy eternal Glory, so puts into it a new Nature whereby it might everlastingly bear the Pains of *Gekenna*. But the Cause to thefn of this Error was, that Saying of some of the Ancients, **הַקְּבָּה מִבְיאָ אֶת הַנֶּשֶׁמָה וּוֹרֶקֶת בְּנֹפֶת וְהַזְּ אֹתָם כָּאֶחָר** God the Soul brought casts into *Goph*,

and judgeth both together badly understood, since here they interpret *Goph* to be the Body, whereas nothing else is hinted by it, than a Place whither God thrusts in the Soul which is not fit to be comprehended in any Place whereby it might be capable of Punishment, as before he had inclosed it in the Body, which Place therefore is called by the Name *Goph* of the Body, and the same elsewhere *Gebenna*. Therefore they are deceived while first of all this Name of the Body which was the former Habitation of the Soul, here they think to be explained, as if God again did put into it a Soul to be tormented, and then for the like Reason, the Soul whereby it might be more fit to receive a spiritual Reward, to be presented with a Body also in the Resurrection of the Dead, when as well Punishment as Reward concern the Soul not the Body, and the Soul ought to be abstracted to some Place to suffer Punishment, but not so to receive a Reward. These Things he, from whence it is plain that even *Maimonides* seemed not to him by the Destruction of impious Souls to have understood their Annihilation of all Manners or Fashions. Moreover, the same *Joseph Albo* after that, Ch. 36. of the same Book he hath shewed that eternal Punishment is due to the Sinner through his own Merit, but Reward to the Well-doing through the mere Grace of God to be rendered eternal, Ch. 38. he sheweth by the same Benevolence of God the Punishment of some [*Israelites* to wit, and believing] which they deserved eternal, to become *וּמַנִּי* temporal, and they to be punished in this Age whereby in the future they may purchase a Reward. This but yet he pronounces of others, to wit Hereticks, Voluptuous, &c. **ראי** **שישאו** במת שורות הרין מהיבת והוא **שיזהו**

שִׁיחִיה עֲנָשָׂם נָצָהִי it is fit they should endure to the End that, to which with the highest Justice they are liable to wit eternal Punishment, therefore what the Ancients say holds in them, they are thrust down into *Gebenna*, there for ever to be tormented. Yet that Saying in the *Talmud* which in the same Place he quotes, in which they seem to affirm the Punishment of *Gebenna* to be temporal, **עֲנָשָׂם שֶׁל רְשָׁעִים בְּנַהֲנָמָם יְבָרְכִים** the Punishments of the Wicked in *Gebenna* are twelve Months, I know not whether elsewhere he explains. It meets us in *Edajoth* Ch. 11. §. last **הַמְשָׁה דְּבָרִים שֶׁל שְׁנָוִים עָשָׂר חֶדֶשׁ בְּשֶׁבֶט** **דוֹר חַמְבּוֹל יְבָרְכִים** **חֶדֶשׁ מִשְׁפָּט מִצְרָיִם יְבָרְכִים** **חֶדֶשׁ מִשְׁפָּט אַיּוֹב יְבָרְכִים** **חֶדֶשׁ מִשְׁפָּט גּוֹן וּמְגֹן יְבָרְכִים** **עָשָׂר חֶדֶשׁ רְשָׁעִים בְּנַהֲנָמָם יְבָרְכִים** **שְׁנָאָמֵר וּהֹוּה חֶדֶשׁ רְשָׁעִים** **בְּנַהֲנָמָם יְבָרְכִים** **חֶדֶשׁ שְׁנָאָמֵר וּהֹוּה חֶדֶשׁ רְשָׁעִים** There be five Things the Space whereof is twelve Months. The Judgment of those who were taken away in the Flood, was twelve Months, the Judgment of the *Egyptians* twelve Months, the Judgment of *Job* twelve Months, the Judgment of *Gog* and *Magog* will be twelve Months, the Judgment of the Wicked in *Gebenna* twelve Months, as it is said, *Isa. lxvi. 23.* And it shall come to pass, that from one new Moon to another. It is quoted also by *Ramban c. Gamul. F. 99.* and as by *Abarbenel* where he treats of *Chereth*, Destruction, nothing added for the Sake of explaining. Perhaps therefore not to be understood of all the Wicked universally, but of those of whom already we have seen Mention made by *Ramban*, although in a short Exposition to *Rash Hashana* Ch. 1. it is imputed to all to whom that of *Daniel* extends itself [and some to

everlasting Contempt] for so the Commentator, because it is said in everlasting Contempt לא שלא is not said because they have לא נדונים יב' חדשועליים נדארמיין no Remedy but are punished twelve Months and then ascend as they say, the Judgment of the Wicked in *Gebenna* is twelve Months. And so what is said [he saith] c. *Haza-baab* [4 to wit *Baba Metc*]. Three descend into *Gebenna* who ascend not again, it is to be understood they ascend not immediately, and they are הבא על איש והמלבין פני חברו ברבים who practiseth with another Man's Wife, who maketh his Companion ashamed before many, who imposeth an infamous Name upon his Companion, or whether all these Things you will say are affirmed of *Israelites* only? Of whom *Erubin* Ch. 2. and *Chagigah* Chap. the last it is said אין אור של גיהנום שלטת נחם פושע ישרא the Fire of *Gebenna* hath not Power over the Sinners of *Israel*, to wit *Abraham* descending, and bringing them back from that, and as in *Tosiphta* to this Place, the Judgment רשי ישרא of the Wicked of *Israel* is of twelve Months: After which they neither live, nor are לא היין ולא נדונים ושווין כלל טובח ובעל רעה judged, and remain without Good and without Evil.

But the same Reason seemeth not to be resolved by him of all בינוין which they call the Middle. So certainly the Disciples of *Shammæus* c. *Rejsh Hoshana* bring out their Opinion בינוין יורדים ומצטפין ועלים the Middle descend into *Gebenna*, and there wail, afterwards ascend, but

וּרְבָּחֶסֶד מִתְהָכָלְפִי
 Pages or Lacquys of *Hillel* *כלפי חסר* *The Lord of Mercy inclines towards Mercy.*
 He makes the Scale of a Balance fway towards
 the Part of Innocence *וְאֵין יָוֹרֵד לְנִיחָגָם* nor
 do they descend into *Gebenna*, as in the same Place
 the Commentator explains. Now truly *Nachma-*
nides, that he might distinctly bring out his Op-
 nion, as to the Middle faith he *שְׁעֻנוֹתֵיהֶן וְכַיּוֹדֵהֶן* whose Faults and Merits are equally
 divided, or equal, God who is great hears with
מִהָּצָה *שְׁעֻנוֹת שְׁלָהָם* Part of the Faults they are guilty
 of, there be *עַזְנָ פּוֹשֶׁעַ וְשְׁרָאֵל בְּגַנְפָּת* any Fault
 of those Things which the Transgressors of *Israel*
 commit with their Bodies, *e.g.* if they have never
 put the *Tephillin* on their Head, or in the same
 Manner in some Commands to be performed by
 the Service of the Body, they have been guilty of
 continual Omission, as if they never have read the
Keryath Shemaa, nor after Victuals taken return
וּרְדֵין לְגַהָגָם וּמַצְפָּצִין *וְעַלְיוֹן דִּימְנָה* descend into *Gebenna*, there cry out
 aloud, and then ascend out of the same, if the
 Faults of any are more than their Merits, and of
 these the Transgressions [as it is said] of which
Israelites have been guilty with their Bodies, or
 also other Nations with their Bodies, *v.g.* if he
 hath been guilty of *עַרְיוֹת* unlawful Meeting he
 descending into *Gebenna* there is detained twelve
 Months which being finished *גַּפְוּ כָּלָה* his Body
 is consumed, Spirit burnt with Fire, moreover
 being cast out of *Gebenna* the Wind scatters him
 under the Soles of the Feet of just Men. But
יְהוּדִים

יְהוּדִים הַמְלֻעִינִים עַל דְּבָרָיו הַזֶּל the Jews who expose to Derision the Words of wise Men and Voluptuous, and who deny the Law and the Resurrection of the Dead, and who separate themselves from the Flock of *Isræl*, and who strike their Terror into the Land of the Living [to wit Governors who strike too much Fear into the People not for the Cause of the Glory of God

כָּנָן מֶלֶכִי הַרְוֹן] to wit the Kings of *India*] although they compel them not to sin, but govern rightly, excepting that Men Opinions and their own Deeds they direct to that Point that they should obey them, not to the Worship of the Lord of all,] and who sin, and draw many unto Sin, v. g. *Jeroboam* Son of *Nebat*, and his Companions; these all descend into *Gebenna* there to be tormented to all Eternity. These [faith he] are the three Forms of Persons to be judged in the Day of great Judgment which is the Day pitched upon to judge all People, and which is יּוֹם נִזְמָן *הַשְׁלָמָם הַנְּאָזָן* a Day and [certain] Time of the future World, not that the Punishment of Sins is deferred to that Time, since Souls also before that Day are tormented in *Gebenna*, but those who before were tormented נְדוּנִים בָּאוֹתוֹ הַוָּמָם *הַעֲתִיד לְהַחֲזִירָם לְנִיחָנָה וְלְהַכְּרָתָה וְהַאֲכָדָה הַנֶּפֶשָׁם* מִתּוֹךְ הַעֲונָשׁ וְהַצְּפָרָה הַגְּדוֹלָה *הַמְתַחְרֵשׁ עַלְיָהָם* in that future Day are judged that they may be sent back into *Gebenna*, and there their Soul should be cut down and destroyed by reason of Torment, and great Affliction which is renewed against them. To this Judgment is previous that in which it is appointed of every one at the Hour of Death, in which the perfect Just are presently admitted into

into *Gan Eden* [and which itself is **חַיִם נֶהֱיָה**] to be reputed a certain Life of the Age to come] the chiefly Wicked are immediately thrust down into *Gebenna* to be tormented. The Middle [being also commanded to taste it] howling miserably request they may be brought forth out of that Place into a Place of Refreshment, which forasmuch as in this Judgment, moreover in the future of them is affirmed. In every one of these Judgments **קָל שְׁבָחָן** to him who is determined to the highest Punishment **אֵין לְוָיָה** no Measure is limited, but every one is punished according to his Works, and then after Howling he has implored Mercy he is set at Liberty; who to the most grievous, is tormented for Ages of Ages, the Punishment of the Middle holds but twelve Months, after which at that Time which goes before the Day of Judgment, freed from *Gebenna* **נִמְשָׁרֶת לְדֹמָה וְאֵין לְהַבְּ מִנּוֹחָה** they are delivered to Silence, nor do they become Partakers of any Refreshing. But after twelve Months from the last Judgment, wherein their Body hath been consumed, and Spirit burnt with Fire, the Wind scattereth them under the Soles of the Feet of the Just, although in the mean time they have different Degrees of Punishments according to the different Degrees of Sins, that twelve Months Space enduring, and **גַּיהֲנָם מִנְהָנָם** a *Gebenna* more grievous than *Gebenna*. It hath pleased me to transcribe these Things more largely from *Nachmanides* himself, because the Words of him by *Abarbenel* reduced into an Abstract perhaps do not present his entire Opinion; but chiefly because he affirmeth him elsewhere to have thought otherwise, where in this he hath set up him to

agree with *Maimonides* himself, that both affirm by Destruction is called a Killing of the Soul of all Manners or Fashions, than which nothing seems more contrary to the Opinion of *Nachmanides*: And who makes it probable that *Maimonides* thought otherwise. But I think he seemed to nobody to have affirmed this except *Abarbenel*. *Manasse Ben Israel* we have seen to have set up this Difference between the Opinions of those Doctors, that *Rambam* affirms Souls by Destruction to be reduced to nothing, but otherwise *Nachmanides*. Certainly with Words so much doubtful and uncertain, as well their own as the Opinion of others of that Matter, the Destruction of the Soul by Nature, the more modern *Jews* express that I can no otherwise satisfy myself and others, whilst that I have undertaken to declare their Doctrine at length, than that I should use the Words of *Juda Zabara*, by saying, uttered for a like Cause, **כתבתי לך הכל ואתת תבחר הנכון** I have described to thee the whole, thou mayest chuse what will seem best to thee.

What *Juda Zabara* confesseth of the State of the Soul after Death and the Last Judgment, agreeable to the Doctrine of *Nachmanides* are, **עולם הנשמות עניין אחד ועולם הבא עניין אחר** the World of Souls is some one, the future World another, that is now, this at last after the Day of Judgment, in the seventh Millenary. Therefore he describes *Gan Eden* to be a Place prepared for that End, that there might be enticed the Souls of pious Men **במה שישינו מזו השכינה** with what they can obtain of the Brightness of the Divine Majesty, &c. which State the Doctors express by divers Names, to wit saying, their Souls are

are placed **בצורך החיים** in the Bundle of Life, 'באוצר aloft, in a Treasure, by all which they hint nothing else than that **מהשגת עדן** they purchase Pleasure from a Perceiving of the Divine Glory, the same is signified by that which they say **החת כסא הכבוד** their Souls are hidden under the Throne of Glory, by which Form of speaking he would nevertheless have it suggested, **שאין להם שלימות** they have not yet obtained Perfection; **כיו לא יתכו לשון** because the Word **גניזה** Hiding or a Laying up agreeth not with a Thing which hath overtaken a perfect State. But that State called *Gan Eden* is not equal to all pious Men, **יש מעלה ויתרון צדיק לצדיק לפי**, **מה שהטיב מעשו כעלם הוה בחכמה וכשרון** On the contrary *Gebenna* is a Place prepared for the End **ללהט שם נפש הרשע באשו** **של גהנם שהוא דק ראיו להיות מלחת נפשות** that there might be burnt the Soul of the impious Man with the Fire of *Gebenna* which is subtil, and fit to burn the Souls of Impious; with respect to which common Fire is but **אחד מששים** *Unus è sexaginta, One of Sixty.* Nor is *Gebenna* equal with all Wicked, but one is tormented more grievously than another, according to the Proportion of the heinous Offences which he hath committed in this World, **בี้ לפי חיומם** and because of the Guilt of their Punishment. There are some of them who are punished **ענשם** twelve Months and then howl and ascend, others

who to all Eternity are punished. God of his Mercy rescueth the Middle out of *Gebenna*. There are three Forms of Persons to be judged both in the Last Judgment, and in that wherein it is appointed upon every one at the Hour of Death. God to whom all Things are manifest since he feeth who are fit to be admitted into the Garden of *Eden*, who to be thrust into Hell, by Punishments and Rewards to be disposed in this Life, whereby he might punish those for their Sins in the present Life, reward these for their good Deeds, prepareth both for those Things which remain for them after Death, lest evil Deeds should retire unpunished to any one, or any good Deeds be deprived of a Reward. Thus they resolve,

שנפרעים מן הרשעים נעלם הבא אפלו
על ענורה קלה שעשו כך נפרעים מן הצדיקים
בעולם הזה אפלו על ענורה קלה שעשו &c.

As in the future World they take Vengeance of the Impious even for the lightest Sin which they have committed, so of the Pious in this World even for the lightest Transgression. And again, as in the future Age they render Recompence to the Godly even for the smallest Command which they have made good, so in this Age to the Ungodly, while God in the mean time declarereth Sentence upon every one according to the Purpose of his Heart, whether in doing Good or Evil, when sometimes they do otherwise who determine to do well, and do good the Purpose of whose Heart is not right, which he illustrates by the Example of him who giving Alms to a poor Man in a Market-place, did therefore do ill doing it with this View, either that he might obtain the Name of a beneficial Man, or that he might put the poor Man to Shame, who openly received, since

עיקר

עיקר צדקה the Foundation of Charity, or the Method of true Charity is that neither he who gives should know to whom he gives, nor he who receives of whom he receives. That God therefore who knoweth the Secrets of the Heart עטקו will judge every one לפי המעשה וכונת לבו according to the Fact and the Intention of his Heart to do Good. רחמנא לבא בעי The merciful God requireth the Heart. He says this is the Explication of those Things which respect the State of the World of Souls, according to the Doctrine of *Nachmanides*; who certainly since he affirms all Things to be distributed according to the Merits of Men as well in this Life as in the future, to that Question concerning the State of the Soul after Death, and how it is that the Godly, who but yet are necessarily guilty of some Faults, after this Life are admitted to a happy State of Paradise, without any Delay or Purge from that previous Pollution, and the chiefly Wicked should be banished into the eternal Pains of *Gebenna* without any Regard had of any Good which they have done, he thinks can no otherwise be answered, than by a Respect had to the Distribution of Punishments and Rewards in this present Life, whereby both the Just is cleansed from the Pollution of his Sins שוויה ראי לחי העולם that he might be fit to be admitted into Life eternal, and the Impious should be rewarded, even for those the very smallest good Deeds which at any Time they have done, כדי להפרע מהם לעתיד לבא that Vengeance might be taken on them in the Future. Therefore he treats that Question with many Words how it is that to the Evil good Things, to the Good evil Things more often happen in this Life, and that

that *Israel* is more severely treated than the idolatrous Nations : And sheweth the great Advantage of Chastisements, which are deservedly called יסוריין **של אהבה** Chastisements of Love with respect to the Pious ; and cites that Saying of the Ancients, **כל שעברו עליו ארבעים יום بلا יסוריין** Whosoever hath passed over forty Days without Chastisements hath received his World, from which none are free, **אא הרשע הנמור** except the chiefly Wicked for *Gebenna*, whom they keep from Heaven, that every Thing might happen according to his Will in this World.

Moreover, the same *Judah Zabara* calls the **הדין הגדול שודון בו כל העילם** Last Judgment wherein the whole World is judged ; and fixeth it to be in the Beginning of the Seventh Millenary and that the Impious will stand in that Judgment. But in that he says, **שעומדים בדין** that they will stand in Judgment **אינו לטובתם אבל הוא לרעתם להיות נדונים** **בדין קשה ממה שהיה כבר הן בנפש הן בגוף** It will not turn to their Good but Evil, that a more grievous Judgment might be passed upon them than heretofore they have suffered, whether in the Soul, or in the Body and Soul together. This he proves from *Midrash Tillim* where to those Words **לא יקומו Ungodly** shall not stand in Judgment, they say, it would be well for them if they stood not in Judgment, nor should render an Account, not therefore to be so understood, but as by a like Form of Speech it is used

לא הוה ליה לפלוני הקמת רג'ל

used to be said *N. had not Abiding-place or Steadfastness, Firmness, Stability of Foot in Judgment.* These Things therefore it appeareth to record because they may seem to confirm the Things which are said by the most famous Man *Sextinus Amama* of this Form of speaking and of its Use by *Kimchius* in a Comment to the first Psalm.

R O O T XIII.

Of the Matter of the Resurrection. That there are out of the wise Men of them who ordain no others will rise up again than the Just of the *Israelites*: Therefore it is said in *Daniel*, *Many out of them that sleep* but not all *will be awakened*. This is the Opinion of *Rambam* in the Epistle of the Resurrection, and of *R. Saadia* in Book *Emunoth* also of *Ramban* in c. of Retribut. and *R. Chasdai* and the Followers of him. And these are all brought to that Point by this Saying of the Ancients, *The Benefit of Rain looks upon all, the Resurrection of the Dead to the Just only.* This Opinion he thinks contrary to Truth, and that is evidently proved by those Words of Scripture, *Many of them that sleep, &c.* which if the Just only out of *Israel* should be awakened, would not truly be affirmed, since they are not to be called many, but **כאמת** *מספר יהו ונער יכתנים* in Truth a few, whom a Boy might write: And since the Scripture addeth, Some to Life everlasting, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt; from whence it is plain the Evil will rise up again that they may suffer Punishment; to which is agreeable that by *Isaiah*, *And they shall look upon the Carcasses, &c.* He wonders chiefly that *Ramban* since he ordains

ordains the Time of receiving Reward of Commands and good Works to be no other than of the Resurrection, and the End of it to be that Men should be judged in Body together with the Soul according to an Ordinance of the Law, the same yet affirms no other will arise than the Just of the *Israélites*. So neither will the Judgment be great, nor universal, nor according to an Ordinance of the Law common to all Men. Moreover, if the Just only are to rise up again, how can three Orders be ordained of those who are to be judged in the Day of Judgment, of the perfectly Just, the perfectly Evil, and the Middle? To these is to be added to all Nations of the World is by Nature implanted, and firmly rooted this Opinion, there will be who out of their Dead will rise again: Therefore he ordains as well will rise again out of his Country *Israel* to partake of the Salvation of the Lord, and whereby they may be stayed in Judgment, and for other Ends, which he mentions, then out of other Lineages every where in the Earth, and those not only out of the Just, but out of the Wicked sinning and making to sin, to wit the chiefly eminent and illustrious [as he said] and that it is necessary this should be, whereby the better might be manifested in the World the Faith of the blessed God to whom wise Men, Priests and Prophets by Word will bear their Testimony; but the Wicked while that by their Punishment and Fire that will not be quenched, will strike Terror into Men. Nevertheless the Resurrection will not be common to all Men which ever were known, but to a Part only of them, which yet will be out of all Nations, and of them as well the Just as the Impious, therefore the Angel said to *Daniel*, *Many of them that sleep, &c.* But therefore because they said the Benefit of

Rain, &c. the Resurrection is not to be denied to all others, but thereby is shewn the Profit and Good to be obtained by the Resurrection are not common to all; since it is otherwise in the Benefit of the Rain, from whence all equally as well the Good as the Bad take Profit, as the Fields of them as of these being watered from thence, whereas the Profit and Benefit of the Resurrection is of the Just only; but the Residue of those who rise again besides that in the World they make known the Verity and Divinity of God, to be tormented with Pain.

Joseph Albo * seems to embrace almost the same Opinion concerning the Fewnes of those who are to be raised up. He says there are four Times of receiving Reward, 1. **העולם הזה**. In this Age. 2. **העולם הבא אחרי המתים אם קודם תחיית המתים** In the future Age, after Death, as well before as after the Resurrection of the Dead. 3. **ימوت המשיח** In the Days of the *Messias*. 4. **שחיות המתים** In the Resurrection of the Dead. Also the Rewards to be distributed in those Times, are of divers Kinds: And there are some, whom all these will come unto, to wit the perfectly Just, others, who will be rewarded only in this Life, to wit the Impious to whom God renders a Reward in this World of the few Goods which they have performed, that they may be punished in the future, others of the Number of the Just, to whom in this Life no Reward will be rendered, yet presently after Death shall obtain the Life of the future Age, but shall have no Share in the Resurrection of the Dead, others at last who shall also enjoy the Life

* Not. Misc. p. 186.

of the future Age and the Days of the *Messias*. Therefore he set up only two Forms of Men divided into four, and these without doubt in Number unequal to the rest [as there is a less of the most excellently good than of the others] who shall be Partakers of the Resurrection: Treating the same Thing with many Words Ch. 35. after he had said it is a Matter worthy to be considered,

asm ha'chiah nolad la'kol ha'olam kemo shkazat
 ha'omot omedot eo tihah la'kol ha'omah eo
 katzat *Futurane fit resurrectio toti mundo com-
 munis uti afferunt gentes aliquae, aut toti genti Isra-
 elitiae, aut parti tantum ipsius*, addit, כי זה דבר
 לא נמצא בכחובים רמו חזק *Rem esse, cuius
 nullum fit in Scriptura satis firmum indicium.* Whe-
 ther the Resurrection be common to the whole
 World as some Nations affirm, or the whole Coun-
 try of *Israel*, or Part only of the same, he adds,
 It is a Thing, of which in Scripture there is no Dis-
 covery sure enough. Hence it is certain concerning
 his Opinion not many will be raised up, nor that
 the Resurrection will be general, which neverthe-
 less there were perhaps out of the Jews, who
 affirmed; among whom *Abul Baracat* seemeth to
 be reckoned who wrote Commentaries upon *Eccle-
 siastes* in the Arabick Tongue, while upon the
 Words Ch. iii. vers. 21. *Who knoweth, &c.* he hath
 פְּקָאֵל מֵי יָדָע וּגְעַלְיָ רַסְמָ אַלְתוֹנוֹיךְ these,
 וְאַלְנְכָרָה עַלְיָהָם פְּקָאֵל אֶזְןָ מִן הָוּ עַרְפָּ מִתְהַקְּקָה
 רֹוח בְּנֵי הָאָדָם עַלְיָהָה לְמַעַלָּה וְאַנְהָא מְהֻפּוֹתָה
 עַנְד טַכְלָקָא וְיָוָם טַנְשָׁר פִּירְדָּהָא וְיָגְדָּהָא
 וְאַנְרֹוחָה הַבְּהָמָה לִים לְהָא רַגְעָה בְּלָהָיָה נָאֹזָלה
 וְיָסְפָּל טַאָרֵץ מִתְלָאָגָם טַאָדָי יְתַלָּאָשָׁא וַיְצַמְּהָל

פָּאָרָא עַלְמָ דָּלֶךְ וְתַחְקָקָה פִּיגָּב עַלְוָה אֵן לֹא
יִקְיָם נַפְשָׁה כְּלָבָה אִים וּוּרְכָב שְׁהָוָתָה וְהַוִּי עַלְמָ
אֵן אֱלֹהָ טָלְבָה *Dixit, Quis novit, &c. viā increpationis & averstationis ipsorum, quasi diceret, Quis noverit, ac pro certo habuerit Spiritum hominum ascendere sursum, ac servari ipsum apud Creatorem usque ad diem resurrectionis, qui tum in corpus suum ipsum remittet; spiritum autem jumenti non iterum reverti, sed descendere in imum terrae instar corporis quod tabescit & dissolvitur, hæc cum certò noverit, oportet illum non se jumentorum more gerere, & cupiditatibus suis indulgere, cum sciat Deum de ipso ratione sumpturum.* He said, *Who knoweth, &c.* by the way of a Chiding and Disdaining of them, as if he had said, Whosoever hath known and knoweth certainly, that the Spirit of Man ascendeth upward, and the same is preserved by the Creator until the Day of the Resurrection, who will then send the same back into its own Body; but the Spirit of a Beast of Labour and Burthen returns not again, but descends in at the Bottom of the Earth like a Body which pines or wears away and is dissolved, when he hath known these Things certainly, he ought not to demean himself in the Manner of Beasts indulging his eager Desires, when he knoweth God will require an Account of him. Whether he speaks these Things from his own Opinion, or if also of some one *R. Samuel* whom he quotes, and of others, he seemeth to resolve this Difference between the Souls of Men in general and of Brutes. That these perish together with Bodies, those are delivered into the Hand of God again to be restored to Bodies in the Day pitched upon for the Resurrection of the Dead or all to be called back to an Account.

And so also it seemeth to *Joseph Albo*, who affirmed [he faith] at the Time of the Resurrection Bodies will remain either in Joy or eternal Torment, so that in the mean time they should neither eat nor drink, neither henceforth die, whereby they may receive a Reward eternally to endure or Punishment, neither nevertheless that the Resurrection will be for the whole World, or common to the greater Part of them, rather not even to all *Israelites*, or the greater Part of them, but a few only out of them, to wit the perfectly Just, proper **הנה הוא אכן שקבע בינו הسلوك והקיים*** **ולא ירניש בזה** Lo he is one who together affirms the same Thing, and denieth it, nor yet perceiveth it: Since if it be affirmed a Part only of Men, letting pass others, should be raised up, it cannot be set up the same are raised up for this End, that they may receive a Reward of their Deeds, but for others which he hath mentioned, Ends, to wit to publish the Faith of God, or that an Opportunity might be afforded to some of deserving greater Things.

Therefore the famous *John Cochius* avouches the Sect of *Nachmanides* set up a twofold Resurrection, to wit a general of all Men in that decreed Day of the Great Judgment, when the Sentence of the supreme Judge, divers to eternal Life, divers to Hell will give by Judgment, &c. But before this another wherein only those who have deserved, will return to accustomed Rewards of an earthly Life, when Christ will arrive; and they having finished their just Time will again die, or be changed. Certainly it seemeth agreeable to Reason, that he who set up a first Resurrection to few, should set up another common to more; but

* *Ibid.* p. 192.

this as we have seen divers of his miss in the Master of this Doctrine : And I know not whether from the Words of the same some such Thing can be gathered, to wit who Ch. *Gamul.* F. 100 says that great Judgment presently will follow this first Resurrection.

מתחלת ימות התהיה, In some Day in the Beginning of the Days of the Resurrection a Sentence will be declared of all *על עניין אותו שכר העתיד לעולם הבא אם ראוי לתחיות המתים ולנעם הנוף והנפשבאותו זמן with respect to that Reward which is to be recompensed in the future Age, whether any hath been worthy of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of the Delights both in Body and Soul in this Time to be enjoyed. Therefore only they who will be thought worthy of that Felicity will rise again ; it is said therefore in *Daniel*, Many, not all.

וְגַמָּר דִּינֵם Of the Wicked therefore what ? לְדָר אֵין עָלָם יִשְׁלָא יִנְעַמוּ מִחִיּוֹם הַהֵם אֶלָּא יִשָּׁאֲרוּ בְּדָרְאָוֹן שְׁלָהֶם אוֹ וּכְפָלָעַלְיָהֶם עֲוֹנֶשׁ מִנְדָה קָשָׁה לְרַעָה מִמְנָה כַּפְיָ מה שְׁנַתְחִינוּ The Judgment of the same shall be perfected by which they may retire into everlasting Contempt, nor shall they be delighted with this Life but should remain in their Contempt, or Punishment shall be doubled to them from the State [in which they are] Evil to another yet more grievous, as they have deserved : And wheresoever, he saith, you shall find in the Writings of the ancient *Rabbins* Mention of an Adjournment of Punishment hereafter הוא ארוכות העונשים לעתיד it is to be under- מהכרתת הנפש החוטאת בזמנ

* Not. Misc. p. 192.

stood

stood of the Destruction of the finning Soul in that Time. And again Fol. 101. after he had described the Pains of *Gebenna* by which Souls are tormented, he joins to ***ועוד הרין הוז נכפל על מהוינו הכרת ביום הרין הנדול ונ ידונין בו בג יונם עד שמתבלין** And yet still this Judgment is doubled against the Guilty of Destruction in the great Day of Judgment, whereby they are given by Judgment to *Gebenna* until they are consumed. What by this Consumption is to be understood now already we have seen: In the mean time no Mention here of the Resurrection of Wicked in that Day, nor of any other Punishments than which in Souls they are to suffer. *Judah Zabara* who in the greatest Part followeth *Nachmanides*, leaves the Matter wholly dubious, in those which we have already commended, Words, in which he affirms, that the Wicked are to stand in Judgment will not stand instead of Good to them, but for Evil, that more grievous than hitherto, they may suffer **הן בנפש הן בגוף ונפש יחר** whether in Soul, or in Body and Soul together: And which out of the Book **מנלה המגלה** *Megalleh Hammegillah* he quotes, it cannot be that the Day of Judgment should be together with the Resurrection of the Dead, because the Resurrection is of the *Israelites* only, not of other People, because unless the Bodies also of others were raised up [although they think this not to be called by the Name of a Resurrection] what hinders lest that in the same Time in which the Bodies of the *Israelites* should be restored to Life, a Sentence should be declared of the Souls together of others? And *Aben Ezra*

* Ibid. p. 193.

seems

seems to affirm the same of the twofold Resurrection, to *Daniel*, Ch. 12. where he affirms the Just who in the Time of the *Messias* will be restored to Life will again die, and at last in the Last Judgment another Turn will be raised up, there will be Opportunity of Time of bringing his Words to Art. 14.

R O O T XIV.

שְׁקָמִים נְתַחַיָּה וַיָּאֶכְלּוּ וַיְשַׁתּוּ וַיָּמֹתּוּ אֶם
כִּنְכִּשְׁאָר בְּנֵי אָדָם וַיְנַפְּשָׁם וַיָּשָׁבּוּ לְעוֹלָם
הַנְּשָׁמוֹת וַיָּשָׁם וַיָּקְלֹו שְׁנָרוֹם אוֹ עֲוֹנָשָׁם כַּפֵּי
דִּינָם וַחֲשָׁבּוּן מְעִשָּׁיהם

“ Those who rise again
“ will eat and drink, and again die as the Rest
“ of Men, and their Souls will return into the
“ World of Souls, that there they may receive
“ their Reward or Punishment, according to the
“ Sentence declared of them and the Reason of
“ their Labours.”

He saith it is to be known that there also of this Matter various Opinions, for *Haggaon* judgeth, those who rose up again would eat, drink, marry Wives, as did the Sons of the Woman of *Sarepta* and the *Shunamite*, whom *Elija* raised up, and by fulfilling Precepts deserve a Reward; and then they will be translated into the Joys of the future World, that there they may be delighted in Body and Soul together, by no Means from Eating, or other Delights of the Body taking Pleasure, as *Moses* abiding constantly in the Mountain: Nor henceforth shall they die there according to that of the Masters, “ The Dead, whom God is to raise up, are not henceforth to return to Dust.” In the same Manner writes *Rambam* those who will

live

live again will hold themselves as the Inhabitants of this World to wit eat, drink, exercise a Mistress, beget Children, &c. who yet in this differeth from *Haggaon* because he affirms, they will not live continually, but many Days being finished will again die. Neither is the Resurrection the latter End of Man, or his true Reward, but that Good laid up for the Just *viz.* their spiritual Reward and proper to the Soul in the World of Souls whither at last Souls will return stripped of Matter and its Accidents, and separated from the same. Neither does this Doctor think, the Reward of Precepts is together of the Body and Soul, but of the Soul, only, of this Pleasure of the Soul is uttered, by *R.* that, “ In the future World they neither eat “ nor drink.” But *Ramban* [he says] thinks not so, but after the Days of the *Messias* the Dead will live again, particular Souls returning into particular Bodies in the same Manner in which they were in this World: But they who are raised up will neither eat, nor drink, nor enjoy the Pleasures of the Body even to any, but will take Pleasure in the Brightness of the Divine Majesty in Body and Soul together, as to *Moses* when in the Mountain forty Days and Nights he abode constantly, in the mean time eating or drinking nothing, it happened, also to *Elias* the Prophet, and to the Time of the Resurrection tends that Proverb of *Rabba*, “ In the future World, they will neither “ eat nor drink,” because since their Bodies are found, it was necessary he should shew, they are not taken away with bodily Desires. And in this Sense it is said “ Death is swallowed up in Victory.” This is the Opinion of *Nachmanides**, which the Doctors of *France* also hold, **רְבָנִי צְרָפָת**

* *Not. Misc.* p. 197, 198.

as also **הכמי ספרד** many of the wise Men of Spain, and the same is the Opinion of Christians, viz. in the Time of the Resurrection the Raised up, will neither eat nor drink, neither marry Wives, or beget Children, nor die again, but abide constantly immortal, Body and Soul united, like heavenly Bodies, and they by them are called glorified, and *Nachmanides* and his Followers affirm, there is no Reason it should be objected Members serving for Nourishment and Generation in the Time of Resurrection will be in vain, since God at that Time is to restore them in the same Manner from which they were before, lest that the Nature of the Creation should even to any be changed. Moreover besides that in the human Form great Mysteries lurk, for which first it was formed out, and for which God will have it continue, that they should be everlasting, and as in the Beginning he had appointed, when first he formed *Adam*, suppose he hath been composed of Matter, if he had not sinned, that he should be immortal.

To determine or judge rightly between these two Opinions he thinks a hard Busines, and of much Study: But he inclines to the Part of *Maimonides*, whose Opinion he writes he confirmed elsewhere with many Arguments, and of which here he brings some. 1. Because if the Raised up do nothing with their Sense and Members, and they will be in themselves immortal, they will not be the same which are dead, since the Bodies and Members of the same are not the same which before, since before they were by Nature passable, **פועלים כמנוגדים** executing Actions according to the Respect of their Measure, corruptible, &c. now of a Nature wholly divers, incorruptible and impassible, reasonable nevertheless not using their Faculties and Senses, no less therefore differing

from the present than celestial from these corruptible. It will be therefore a new Creation not to be called a Resurrection of the Dead, more than a Figure in the Wall resembling *Ruben* is to be called *Ruben* himself, &c. otherwise the same Bodies and of the same Measure would do and suffer the same they did before.

2. Because if the Pleasure there they will enjoy will be from the Brightnes of the Divine Majesty spiritual, Bodies cannot be delighted with it, when every Sense is rejoiced with its proper sensible not with any which with it not in Shape, Shew, rather not in Kind agreeth, as the Smell, *i. e.* the Sense of Smelling, perceives not Pleasure from musical Sounds, nor the Taste from fair Shapes, if therefore a Man will not be delighted with sensible Pleasures, what at last will his Body enjoy, since the Divine Majesty is not the Object of his Senses?

3. Because then [as *Maimonides* objects] Senses and [bodily] Faculties would be in vain which Objection he says the Answer of *Nachmanides* doth not satisfy, to wit God then the Nature of the Creation will change and take away the Use and Corruptibleness of the Senfes; for if in that which is especial Nature will be changed, why not also in respect of Instruments and Members? If in the human Figure some Mysteries lurk, they will be in every Member and Faculty directed to some End; but the End being taken away these Instruments will be necessarily in vain. Also what he brings from *Adam*, is nothing. For be it so it be said, *In the Day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt die*, by that is not shewn [*Nachmanides* himself confessing it] he will be then corruptible, forasmuch as if he had not sinned he never would have died for since he was composed of Contraries, also necessarily he was to die. Nothing else is hinted therefore

therefore by these Words, than he is made liable to Death before his Day by his Sin. And this is plain from the Form of a Reproach, " Until thou return," &c. no Mention made of the Change of Nature. The wise Men therefore when they say *Adam*, if he had not sinned by no Means would have died, understand the Death of the Soul. So [that] divine Simeon the Son of *Zochai* wrote*, if *Adam* had not sinned, his Life would have been longer, nevertheless at last he must have died for the Reason of his Measure and his Matter, because the Spirit coming down from above gives not to the Body an Abiding constantly and Immortality, when itself by its Nature hath been corruptible and composed out of Contraries, yet the Goodness of intellectual Disposition prolongeth his Days. Suppose nevertheless *Adam* to be immortal if he had not sinned, it is necessary, that we affirm God to have created him of a Measure approaching next to equal, insomuch that using that Government which God commanded it might be possible he should last or hold out. But after he had rebelled, indulging bodily Affections, and had been wrapped in material Things, he went out of the Equality of a Mean, and was easily made liable to Death. Nevertheless as well he as the Men of his Age lived long because they were hard by that Measure of the first Parent, from which in the Issue of Time their Posterity departed farther off until they attained unto that Term beneath which it were impossible to descend as to the radical natural Humour, that to wit in which we now are, whose Term of Life is seventy Years, for neither by reason of the Flood [as *Nachmanides* and others think] was the Life of Men

* Not. Misc. p. 199.

abridged, &c. Bodies therefore if they rise the same, will be of the same Measure, therefore not of the same Reason with the Body of *Adam* but more liable to Corruption. What is said of *Elia*, he was lifted up into Heaven, that is spoken figuratively, for he was lifted up into the supreme Region of the Air, where by Fire Body and Garments being consumed his Soul is bound in the Bundle of Life, by the Lord, as *R. David Kimchi* writes: If that Miracle be allowed in *Elia* for his Holiness and because קָנָה לְאֱלֹהִים with great Zeal he pursued the Glory of God, yet nevertheless it is not fit we should believe the same will be for the whole Multitude of Men in the Resurrection, as neither the same which happened to *Moses* whereby he might be fit to receive the Law, for forty Days, shall we say it will happen to all not forty Days only but to all Eternity?

In this Root chiefly the whole hinge about this Article, *viz.* the Resurrection of the Dead, of the Controversy is turned. *Abarbinel* * [as we have seen] rehearseth three Opinions of those who go away into divers Parts. The first is of *Haggan* *R. Saadia*, the second of *Maimonides*, the third of *Nachmanides*. And it is true what he avoucheth they differ among themselves, that as well *Haggan* as *Maimonides* judge those raised up, will eat, drink, marry Wives, but with this Difference that he appoints they will live long, but not for ever and ever, that, that they will never die again, for so he

אל ימותו אבל מעתיקם אותם Ch. 7. *Emunoth* מימות המשיח אל נعمות העולם הבא They shall not die [he saith] but will convey themselves from the Days of the *Messias* to the Joys of the

* *Ibid.* p. 206.

future

future World. This is proved, by that Proverb of the Ancients, " The Dead whom God is ready to raise up are not again to return to Dust."

He that they will live long but not for ever and ever. For so in the Epistle of the Resurrection

אלו האנשים אשר ישובו נפשותם of the Dead לנופותיהם יאכלו וישרצו וישגלו ווילידו וימתו

אחרי חיים ארוכים כדי בחום הנמצאים בימות המשיח ואמנם החיים שאין המות אחריהם הוא

חי העולם הבא אחר שאין גוף בהם שאנחנו

They whose Souls will turn back into Bodies, will eat up, drink, marry Wives, beget, then after a very long Life like that which will be in the Days of the *Messias* they will die, but the Life

which no Death succeeds is proper to the future Age, wherein there is, as we believe, no Body. But that he affirmeth *Nachmanides* to set up in another Part from all these: To wit the same will neither use Members to execute Functions of the same Sort, nor resumed ever again lay down, as to the first Part of the Assertion I know not whether it be insomuch out of the Controversy, *Juda Zabara* who relates the Opinion of both *Moses*, and in the greatest Part stands for the Parts of

העקר האמתי כי התחיה לגוף ולנפש, *Nachmanides*, וזה כמו שהיו קודם לכך יאכלו וישרצו ויתענו

בנהוות נפנויות אין חולק בזה שום חכם

Saith of the true Article [in which it is affirmed] a Rising again [of the Dead] will be to Body and Soul together, that they will hold themselves in the same Manner as before, both eat, and drink, and enjoy bodily Delights, there is not from our wise Men, who undertakes a Controversy, but

יחוֹ אַחֲרֵ כֵּד לְעוֹלָם אָוּ אִם יִמְרוּ
 but whether **כֵּד לְעוֹלָם אָוּ אִם יִמְרוּ** afterwards they are to live for ever
 and ever, or after many Days to die, of this be-
 tween the Masters it is controverted. And certainly
 he who hath consulted the Words of *Nachmanides*,
 deservedly hath doubted whether by *Abarbinel*, it
 be rightly affirmed, he clearly denied, they who
 lived again would eat and drink. For those Words
 in which to the objecting to what Use in the future
 Age could be the Members of the Body seem to
 hint another Thing, since there they neither eat
 nor drink &c. he answereth, those Members to be
 taken up again **לְמִן תְּחִיתַּת הַמִּתְּמִים לְצִורָּךְ**
 at the Time of the Resur-
 rection of the Dead to perform remembred Func-
 tions, and then God will not disannul them again;
 and what from himself we have commended looks
 to the same End, that also *Gen Eden* serves, or
 Paradise properly so called for the Reward which
 in the Time of Resurrection is also perceived by
 the Body: Which he confirmeth by that Proverb
 of the Ancients in which they said, **עֲתִיד הַבָּה***
לְעֹשֶׂת סְעִירָה לְצִדְיקִים כִּנְן פָּחָן It will be that
 God will prepare a Banquet for the Just in Paradise,
 and that he will sit in the Midst of them, every
 one with the Finger shewing him, as it is said, *Lo*
עַנְג וְשָׁכֵר עֲתִיד *this is our God.* And this is
בָּזְמַן הַתְּחִיָּה the Pleasure and Reward which are
 hereafter in the Time of the Resurrection: And
 this Demonstration of the Divine Majesty as with
 the Finger is a Seising on a Degree of Union and
 Pleasure with the same among corporeal Joys, as
 if he should say the Men of this Age reach to the

* Not. Misc. p. 208.

Degree of *Moses*, whose Soul appeared so much higher than the Body, insomuch that bodily Faculties in him should be extinguished, and he continually cloathed with the Holy Spirit, and his Sight and Hearing performed only with the Eye of the animal Life by no Means the bodily Eye being in the Middle, &c. From these Words it is manifest, with him the Time or Day of a Rising again is some one, the future Age another, and in that they eat, drink, and receive other bodily Delights, which at last in this wholly disannulled will cease, nor do I observe him yet to think wholly the same with *Haggan*, because *Haggan* allows a more lasting Space for these Things, perhaps Four hundred or Five hundred Years over or under; considering that he thinks that great Judgment which puts a Difference between the Time of the Resurrection and the future Age will presently follow the Resurrection [as out of the above we have seen] considering that which will be **בַּיּוֹם מִתְחַלֵּת יְמֹתָה** in some Day about the Beginning of the Resurrection that it is not to be finished in a Moment, as it seemeth supposing, and both **תְּחִיָּת הַמֵּתִים** the Resurrection of the Dead, as the **יְמֹתָה הַמֵּשִׁיחָה** Days of the *Messias*, and in which that is to be, reckoning amongst the Goods of this World. But neither by this Means doth *Abarbinel* seem to have presented to us a plenary Reckoning up of differing Opinions, for the Words of *Aben Ezra* to *Daniel* Ch. 12. seem to afford to us a Fourth, where he contends it seemeth to him to be affirmed by *Daniel*, **שְׁחִזְדִּיקִים שְׁמַתּוּ בְּגָלוֹת יְהוּא בְּבֹא הַנּוֹאֵל כִּי עַלְיוֹת** כְּתֻובָה כִּי מַיְעַן יְמִי עַמִּי וְאֹז יְתַעַנְנוּ בְּלֹוִיתָן וּבְיוֹזָבָדָה וּמִתּוֹרָה פְּעַם שְׁנִית וְהַיּוּ בְּתֹהַב הַמְּתִים **בְּהִוָּתְךָ**

נְהוֹתָם בַּעוֹלָם הַנָּא שָׁאִינָם אֲוֹכְלִים וְשׁוֹתִים
 רַק נְהָנוּ מִזֶּוּ שְׁכִינָה *Justos qui mortui sunt in
 captivitate revicturos cum advenerit Redemptor, cum
 de illis scriptum sit, Sicut dies arboris dies populi
 me, ac tunc ex Leviathane, & [ave] Ziz, & Be-
 hemoth delicias capturos, dein iterum morituros ac
 rursum victuros in resurrectione mortuorum, cum
 erunt in seculo futuro; ubi nec comedunt, nec bibent,
 sed splendore Majestatis divinæ fruentur.* “ The
 “ Just who died in Captivity will live again when
 “ the Redeemer shall arrive, since it is written of
 “ them, *Isai. lxv. 22. As the Days of a Tree are*
 “ *the Days of my People*, then they will take De-
 “ light in the *Leviathan*, וּבָיוֹן in the *Ziz*, and in
 “ the *Bebemoth*, and then they shall again die and
 “ again revive in the Resurrection of the Dead,
 “ when they will be in the future World, where
 “ they neither eat, nor drink, but enjoy the Bright-
 “ ness of the Divine Majesty.” Therefore we
 have Variety of Opinions of four Parts or Mem-
 bers, 1. Of *Hagganon*, who contends the Raised
 again will eat, drink, marry Wives, &c. and then
 after they have lived long in the Earth, to be trans-
 ported into the future World, where nothing like
 it henceforth they will perform, no Line of Death
 being put between. 2. Of *Rabbi Abraham Ben
 Ezra*, they indeed from earthly Things meat truly,
 drink, &c. will take Pleasure, yet will die again,
 and again to be raised up to the eternal Joys of
 the future Age, where no Place will be for Delights
 of the same Sort. 3. Of *Maimonides*, that they
 will perform the same with the Men of this Age,
 and that long by the Help of bodily Instruments,
 which nevertheless after a good many Years never
 to be resumed, they will again lay down. 4. Of
Nachmanides, who feemeth no otherwise to differ
 from

from *Haggaon* than that perhaps in a shorter Space these bodily Delights, after the Resurrection to be catched at he abstracts, and to these [or *Haggaon* asunder] *R. Abron Levita* and *R. Juda Zabara* are to be reckoned amongst; since *Aaron* [that *Juda* confessing] appointed no Death to succeed the Resurrection, but the Raised up long, as who in the former Ages in Time past of the World, as much as what then of Time will remain, will endure of the Sixth of a Thousand, will live in the Land of *Israel*, a free Going into Paradise lying open to them, as often as it pleafeth them to visit the same, with whose Fruits, and purer Air, and Prefence of the Divine Majesty more remarkable they will be delighted, until at last the Bodies of the same become most pure purged from the most grofs Dregs of Matter, infomuch that they appear very glorious, not henceforth needy of Meat and Drink.

There is a Passage in the *Talmud Tr. Beracoth*, Chap. 2. which is as follows *מןלא בפומודר*, *דרב לא נהעלם הוות העלים הנא חעה אין בו לא אבילה ולא שתוה ולא פרייה ורבייה לא משא ומתן ולא קנאה ולא שנאה ולזה תחרות לא ציקים יושבים ועתרות יהם בראשיהם וננהנים מזו השכינה שנ' ויהזו את *האלים* *Dictum celebre fuit in ore Magistri, Seculum futurum non ita se habet ac seculum praesens. In seculo futuro nec est eesus nec potus, nec liberorum procreatio, nec venditio nec emptio, nec invidia, nec odium, nec contentio, sed justi sedent coronas in capitibus gestantes, & voluptatem capiunt a splendore Majestatis divinæ sicut dictum est; Et viderunt Deum & comederunt ac biberunt.* “ It “ was a famous Saying in the Mouth of a Master,*

“ The Age to come will not be as the present.
 “ In the Age to come there is neither Eating nor
 “ Drinking, nor Procreation of Children, nor Buy-
 “ ing nor Selling, nor Envy, nor Hatred, nor
 “ Contention, but the Just sit bearing Crowns
 “ upon their Heads, and take Delight in the
 “ Splendor of the Divine Majesty as it is said;
 “ *And they saw God and did eat and drink.*” This
 both as well *Maimonides* as *Nachmanides* bring to
 confirm his own Opinion, he, because nothing
 there is exercised of Things which are performed
 by the Ministry of the Members of the Body,
 concludes neither Members themselves of the Body
 to be found. For it seemeth most absurd to *Mai-
 monides* to affirm these Members are retained in
 vain, and that a Man hath a Mouth, Stomach,
 Liver, and Members fit for a Begetting, and yet
 him not to eat, drink, nor beget Children, these
 Things he entertains with Laughter, questioning
 of what Form they feign to themselves Bodies who
 affirm these Things, whether

נזריים מקשיים או עמודים או מעוקבים round as a Sphere, or squared,
 like a Roller, Conick, or Conical, sharp at the
 Top. For that they may feign God to give Men
 Bodies distinct with their Members yet with which
 they do nothing, but should be like those Idols of
 the Heathens who have Eyes by which they see
 not, Ears by which they hear not, Noses by which
 they smell not; and so should have created any
 thing in vain, and that it should be to no Use, is
 absurd and impious. Therefore by the same Pro-
 verb of the Ancients by which is taken away the
 Use of Eating, Drinking, &c. are taken away to-
 gether bodily Instruments which serve for the same;
 no Members being allowed to Bodies which do not
 those Things, to the performing which they were
 ordained.

אין או
 הדרבים אלא שהוק מי יתן החרש יחרישן ותהי
 להם להכמה these Words of his merely ridiculous. He should grant that by keeping Silence he should attend, by which it might be imputed to them as in Wisdom. But howsoever it be whereby *Maimonides* might allure more Favour to his Opinion, he layeth bare the other to Laughter, and denounceth Silence to its Assertors, desiring Men to be persuaded, that nothing but what is most absurd can be concluded from it ; neither his Authority nor the Weight of the Reasons which he brings could promote *Nachmanides* lest that he should seek for Truth from the other Part, and from that Saying of the Forefather draw wholly the contrary, to wit that Members and Bodies which were in this Life will abide constantly the same to those who are raised up in the future Age, but not serve for the same Uses : Which Opinion *R. Abron Levita*, and *Juda Zabara*, and *R. Jacob* the Compiler of the Book *Ein Israel* embrace, &c. saying, the Partakers in the future Age of a naked Soul only were looked upon by the Author of this Apothegm, *i. e.* brief and pithy Speech of renowned Personages, it was necessary for him to affirm in this the future Age is divers from the present because they who enjoy the same, neither eat nor drink, &c. for who hath Need to be admonished, lest he should think Souls perform those Things to the performing of which they are instructed with no Instruments ? But this is new, nor so well known to all that they who both keep Bodies and Members in Time past built for the same Ends, and accustomed by long continuing Use, they nevertheless now henceforth make not good that Opinion which *Rambam* brings that

he should be a Patron to it, that he is if it be rightly weighed thoroughly its perfect, and in every Part notwithstanding it, and note by that is intimated that Age not to be proper to Spirits, but also of Bodies, and of whole Men who for ever and ever should be upholden by the Brightnes of the Divine Glory, as in this World the Soul in the Body is upheld by the Benefit of Meat and Drink: Which how it can be done is plain by the Example of *Moses* who abode constantly in the Mountain forty Days in which eating nothing **לאו השכינה היה נז'** he was nourished by the only Brightnes of the Divine Majesty. To this Point tends that Proverb of the Ancients, in which to him who questioneth what the Raised up should do in those thousand Years **שעת יד הקב' לחדש בז' שולמו** in which God is to renew his World, they answer ***הבה' עשה להם כנפים והם שטים על פניהם** God will make them Wings and they will wander over the Water: Where by Wings he says is shewn **לנישת הנפש מלאכות וחתלבש הנוף עמה** the Soul is to be covered with a Nature belonging to Angels, and with the same the Body is to be apparelled, neither is the same to perish with the Elements. *R. Abron Levita* [as *Juda Zabara* relates] of the Body admitted into the future World set up four Degrees of Excellency, 1. That **אנו נראה לעין כל ומן שהוא אין רוצח** it can avoid the Sight of the Eye whensoever it desireth to be hid. 2. That **הוא נכנס כבננו ונל'** **מקום אף עלי שהוא סגור כמו שיכנס**

* Not. Misc. p. 213.

הַרְחָה it can enter up on any shut up Place no
 משנתה ממקומו otherwise than a Spirit. 3. That **לָמֶקֶם רְחָק** בְּשָׁעָה קָלָה in a small Space of
 Time it may be conveyed from its Place to a
 Place far off removed. 4. That **מַתְרָאָה בְּנוּתָה** אֲנוֹשָׁי בְּנוּפָו מִמְשָׁא אוֹ בְּצָורה אַחֲרָת אִם רֹזֶה
 it can appear either in its own Body in a
 human Form, or cloathed with any other Form
 as often as it hath pleased it to change its Person.
 Moreover, as to those Wings with which according
 to the Opinion of the Ancients the Raised up are
 to be presented, *Juda Zabara* admonisheth they
 understand not **כָּנָפִים מִמְשָׁא** Wings properly called
* **אַכְלָל רְצָוָנָם** לֹמֵד שְׂוָהָא נָסָפֶת בְּהָם עַנִּין כָּל
אַכְוֹתִי עַמְּ קָלוֹת נָפָם שְׂיָהָוּ רָאוּין לְעַנְוֹד But would shew a certain Property
 belonging to Angels will be added to them, toge-
 ther with the Lightness of the Body, whereby they
 may stand even upon the Surface of the Water.
 Almost in the same Manner by which the Scrip-
 ture to the *Seraphims* imputeth Wings, which
 since they be Spirits in very deed have not Wings.
 If. vi. 2. *Above it stood the Seraphims: Each one*
had six Wings; with twain he covered his Face, and
with twain he covered his Feet, and with twain he
did fly. But with the two by which they are said to
 cover their Faces, is intimated
שָׁוֵן בּוּ הַשְׁנָה **כִּמְהָ שְׁלֵמָעָלָה** **מִמְנוּ** **שָׁוֵן בּוּ הַשְׁנָה** they under-
 stand not Things which are above them, with the
שָׁוֵן בּוּ **הַשְׁנָה בְּעַנְוִגִּים** **אֲשֶׁר לְמַטָּה מִדָּם** they under-

* Ibid. p. 216.

stand

stand not Businesses which are below them, with the two by which they fly is declared קלות התנועה is shewn their Sprightfulness, Activity in executing their Embassy most speedily wholly without any Delay. Moreover the same *Juda Zabara* thinks it necessary to be admonished כי הנצרים יאמינו עקר תהית המתים ולא יאמינו תהית בגוף כהיר קודין אותו בלו שלהם גלוריפיקאט כל שיש לו המעלות שובאנו ותלמידיו ישו הנצרי שמסרו להם עקר זה קכלו מהכמי ישרט ולא שמשו כל ארכ' לדעת עקר תהית כמו שנאנו אנחנו *Etiam Christianos credere articulum resurrectionis mortuorum, at non credere de corpore illustri quod lingua sibi vernacula glorificatum appellant quo resurrecturi sunt totum quod spectat ad istos excellentiae gradus, quorum [inquit] meminimus.* *Discipuli autem Iesu Nazareni qui illis hunc articulum tradiderunt, illum à sapientibus Israelis acceperunt; at non quantum opus est operæ impenderunt ad ipsum plenè percipendum quomodo nos illum credimus.* “ Even the Christians believe the Article of the Resurrection of the Dead, but they believe it not of that bright Body which in their Country-speech they call the glorified Body in which they are to arise the whole of which regards those Degrees of Excellence, of which we have made Mention. But the Disciples of Jesus of Nazareth who delivered them this Article, received it of the wise Men of Israel; but they did not bestow so much Labour upon it as there was Occasion to perceive it fully as we believe it.”

Surely if Christians are not so curious in searching diligently in those Things which it is not given

to Mortals to know, I should not consider that to them as a Fault, there are howbeit also among them who perhaps too much meddling with the Things which are not revealed about the State of another Life, have committed a Fault. Neither what he adds, do I wholly deny the Disciples of *Christ* to have drawn this Article from the Fountains of *Israel*. For from the first Father of that Country this Doctrine was believed and delivered to Posterity. But while this the same not enough, certified by *Christ*, he esteemeth them to have understood it, he is to that Pass deceived, that in true Experience the Posterity of *Israel* as far as the Flesh had to have Recourse to them if they would know what more fully of the same. By whose Name we have seen *Nachmanides* and others to be beaten by *Abarbinel*.

The Example of *Moses* which they urged who affirmed Bodies consisting of their Members without the Support of Meat and Drink by the Power of God to be preserved for ever, lest they should think baffled who follow the Parts of *Maimonides*, by ascribing that to a Miracle, [because according to his Doctrine, in Things by Nature possible the more constant and more lasting it is, it is accounted more wonderful, but in those which surpass the Forces of Nature if it be everlasting, it puts off the Nature of a Miracle] *Nachmanides* answereth, *אם ניחם זה לא מעשה הנם הנה לא יהווכיה שלא הושך הנוף ממנו ולא נפרד מן הנפש והתקיים מאו ועד עולם* If that can be called done miraculously, behold *Elia* is an Argument, whose Body was never laid down, nor separated from his Soul, and remains from that Time in which it was for ever. Which also in the Expositions of the Learned he contendeth to be affirmed of

of *Enoch*. He thinks this to be manifest of *Elia* from these Words of the Prophet, *Behold I send unto you Elias the Prophet, &c.* Certainly the Opinion of all the Masters of *Elia* and his Mission is not the same. *R. David Kimchius*, what he thinks already we have seen, *viz.* the Body of him to have been consumed with Fire in the supreme Region of the Air, himself when he is to be sent to be presented with a new Body. Which Opinion, after that here he disputes against *Nachmanides*, *Abarbinel* sways towards. Whose Ear yet is to be plucked as who not enough seemeth to consist with himself since to *2 Kings xi.* professedly he disputeth against the same, and wholly rejecteth it, **הנֶּה אֵין רָאוּ שְׁנָאכִין לְדִבְרֵיהֶם** by no Means [he faith] we must believe their Words, for it is clearly manifest his Body was never separated from his Soul, therefore he believes, according to the Opinion of the Ancients *Elias* in Heaven, *i. e.* the Air, by a Whirlwind lifted up in an earthly Paradise to have been translated and there himself to remain **בָּגָד וּבְנֶפֶשׁ** consisting of Body and Soul: But what Body at last? A Body which by the Grace of God should be miraculously made ***נְצָחִי**

וקיים כאחד מן הנשמיים השמיים ולכך היה
קל להראות בכל מקום ולא היה מגביל
מקום ולא מצטרך למאכל ולמשקה ולשאר
הדברים הצריכים וההכרחיים לחי לפי שנעשה
גשמיו טacente רוחנית על דרך ום
abitding constantly like some heavenly Body, and
therefore sprightly that every where it might ap-
pear or be in Sight, nor limited to a Place, nor in
Want of Meat or Drink, or other Things of which

* Ibid. p. 218.

the Living necessarily have Need, since his Body hath put on a spiritual Nature by Means of Miracle. This is therefore done because more often he ought to appear to Men, so more often to appear to the Prophets, and the Pious, and in the Schools of the *Rabbins*. They differed no less about sending the same *Elia* before the dreadful Day of the Lord. That seemeth to be understood of *Elia* himself no less to *Abarbinel* than to *Nachmanides*, [as from the Place now last commended it is plain]; and so to *Aben Ezra*, *Kimchius*, &c. Howbeit there are who perhaps judge some other endued with the Spirit of *Elia*, by his Name to be called. So *Maimonides Yad. I. ult.* [*Melachim sc.*] *c. ult.* from these Words of *Malachi* he avoucheth is manifest a certain Prophet will rise up again to direct *Israel*, whom **יש מן החכמים** there are of the wise Men who think him to be *Elias* himself to be sent before the *Messias*: From whence *R. Tanchum* to that Place of the Prophet, ***הרא בלא שך ועד** בטהור נבי פיו יש' קבל וקחת טהור למשיה בקליל ובצע אלמא ורוי أنها אליהו הרשביה נפשה והוא אמרונו פיו אכתר למדרשות ובעצחים ורוי أنها נבי עטימא מטלחה פיו לארתבה קאייא מקאה פוי מערפתה תע' ואטהאר אסמה ולדרך סמי טיה

“ This is without doubt the Promise of a Prophet to be manifested in *Israel* a little before the Time of the Manifestation of the *Messias*, whom some of the Learned believe to be *Elijah* the *Tishbite* himself: Which Opinion is found in the greater Part of the Writings of Homilies, but others think him to be a great Prophet of an equal Degree with him, and designed in the

* Not. Misc. p. 219.

“ same Place as to the Knowledge of God, and
 “ the Publishing of his Name, therefore called
 “ *Elias*, as that great Doctor *Maimonides* means,
 וּלְעַלָּה עַלְיָהָרְאָ מָשִׁיחָ בָּן יוֹסֵף כְּמָא קָאָלְכָעָ “ *Ayzia* “ and therefore perhaps he will be [says he]
 “ *Messias* the Son of *Joseph*, according to his Op-
 “ nion.”

So certainly as he embraceth an Opinion as
 much agreeable to the Holy Scriptures as the Ex-
 positions of the Ancients, if *Adam* had not sinned
 he would have lived everlasting. It is objected
 how this could be, the Masters set before the Ex-
 ample of *Elia* **הַרְאֵ אֱלֹהָו שֶׁלֹּא חַטָּא הַרְאֵ הָוָא** *Behold Elia who sinned not, lives
 and abides constantly for an Age.* But suppose *Elias*
 himself not to have sinned, how yet is he privi-
 leged from that common Portion to which the Sin
 of *Adam* made all liable? For there are also others
 whom they give out free from Sin, yet by the
 Rebellion of the first Father subject to the Laws
 of Mortality. So in the *Talmud* Tr. *Sabbat.* c. 5.
***ר' מַתּוּ בְּעִטְיוֹ שֶׁלֹּ נָחֵשׁ וְאֶלְוּ הָןּ בְּנֵי מִנְיָן בָּן יַעֲקֹב**
וְעַמְרָם אָבִי מֹשֶׁה וְיַשְׁיָהָ אָבִי דָּוָרָ וְכָלָאָבָן דָּוָרָ
 Four [they say] died by the Counsel of the Ser-
 pent [to wit guilty of no other Sin than original]
 which are, *Benjamin*, the Son of *Jacob*, *Amram* the
 Father of *Moses*, *Ishai* the Father of *David*, and
Caleb Son of *David*. *Juda Zabara* will suggest
 an Answer [when then he delighted in the Name
 of *Phineas*] the *Simeonites* for the Sake of re-
 venging their Prince *Zimri* assaulted him, his Soul
 flew out from his Body, which into the same yet
 being hot, the Souls of *Nadab* and *Abihu* who yet
 there flew often hither and thither, taking hold of

thrust back, and since by no other Fault than that of his first Parents he merited Death, by this Means the Divine Justice was satisfied, for which all their Posterity were condemned to it, **ועל כן** **היה דאי שלא ימות עוד ויזכה אל הצלות** **חאוֹרְזָן** **שֶׁהָוָא עַלְמָן** **הַבָּא** therefore it does not agree that he should furthermore die, but become fit who should win the last End [of Man] to wit the future World: But lest he should digress to ridiculous Things, that which here we desire to be observed is *Abarbinel* to disprove the Opinion of them who judge *Adam* if he had not sinned would have lived for ever, the same yet to 2 *Kings* xi. **הַנָּה אָדָם הַהָּה נִצְחָי וּנְעָשָׂה נִפְסָד וְאֵלָיו** Behold *Adam* was immortal and is made mortal: But *Elijah* is born mortal, and made immortal. Whether or not upon this Occasion he seems to have changed his Opinion?

And to these may be added *Joseph Albo* later than *Nachmanides*, who strenuously fights under *Maimonides* against him, as one may see in the 4th Sermon of the thirtieth Chapter even to the End of Ch. 41. in which he affirms no other Reward expected in the future World than what **מֵג יִעַ** **לְנַפְשׁ בְּזֹלְחָת גָּנוֹת** happeneth to the Soul without the Body in Time past by the Fathers of *Adam*, *Noa*, &c. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. and with respect to that alone, ***מֵאָם אֶבְרָהָם אָבִינוּ חִיּוּ וְחִיּוּ בְּנֵנוּ יְהִיּוּ** **וְכָל הַחֲצִילָהָוֹת הַגְּשָׁמוֹת שֶׁהָוּ מִוּעָדֹת לָוּ לְרַשְׁתָּאָרֶן** **כָּנָעַן וְשִׁירָשׁ וּרְעָעַת שָׁעַר אֹוְבָּיו וְכֵי בַּיְצָחָם** **יִקְרָא לְךָ וְרָעַ וְהַלְךָ לְשָׁחוֹת אֶת בְּנֵנוּ יְהִיּוּ בְּהַיוֹתָו**

* Ibid. p. 223.

יודע כי נקיים מצות יי' תתקיים הנפש קיום
נצח ותשאר בנוועם מתמיד וכי בעבورو את פי
חשם יתברך היא לא תצלח ותהייה נכרותת מן
הנוועם ההוא ומما חפציו בכירטו אהרו ובסיל
היעודים הנשימים אם הפסיד הטוב ההוא

הנצחיו שהוא קיום הנפש *Despectui habuit Abraham pater noster tam suam quam filii sui unici vitam omniaque bona corporea quæ ipsi promissa fuerant, scil. in hereditatem ipsi cesseram terram Canaan ac s. men ipius hereditario possessurum portas inimicorum suorum, & [quod dictum est] In Isaac vocabitur semen tuum, profectusque est ut mactaret filium suum unicum, sciens observando mandata Domini conservatum iri animam duratione æternâ ac permansuram ipsam in gaudio perpetuo; ac si transgrederetur verbum Domini haud prospere acturam, sed excisum iri à gaudio isto, ac quid ipsi cum domo sua post ipsum, aut cum omnibus promissis corporeis, si perderet bonum illud sempiternum, quod est animæ duratio?*

“ Our Father *Abraham* despised both his own Life,
“ the Life of his only Son and all the corporeal
“ Goods which were promised to him, to wit,
“ That the Land of *Canaan* would fall out to him
“ instead of an Inheritance, and that his Seed
“ should descending by Inheritance possess the
“ Gates of their Enemies, and [as it is said] *In*
“ *Isaac shall thy Seed be called*, and he went forth
“ that he might slay his only Son, knowing that
“ by observing the Commands of God he should
“ preserve his Soul in eternal Persevering, and the
“ fame abide constantly in everlasting Joy; but if
“ he transgressed the Word of God it would not
“ live prosperously, but would be cut down from
“ that Joy. And what should he have to do with
“ his House after him, or with corporeal Promises,

“ if he should lose that eternal Good, which is the
“ Perseverance of the Soul ?”

Abarbinel therefore alone did not follow the Camp of *Maimonides*. If *Manasse* hath said more stood on the Part of *Nachmanides* we shall easily agree. Already we have reckoned some of them. May it be permitted to add one, *Solomon Bar R. Nathan*, of whose Opinion it is certain, from the Form of a Praying which he hath prescribed to be rehearsed by those who visit the Sepulchres of the Dead, which, unless it be grievous to the Reader, I will set by you ; and that more willingly, because divers Times it hath been asked of me what solemn Supplications the Jews used for the Dead : So therefore he, When thou hast a Mind to visit the Sepulchres of the Prophets, Learned and Pious, set by the Sepulchre, and **מקabler קבלת** thy Face directed toward *Jerusalem*, thus thou shalt say
יהי רצון מלפני יי' אלהינו בוראינו קדושנו קדוש
יעקב שיצר את כל בני בריתו בדין והחיה אותם
בדין והטיה אותם בדין והוא עתיד להקים
לחיי העולם הבא ווודע מספר כלם כן ימחר
והחישת להקין את אדנו ורבנו הגאנון הקדוש
זהה או הצדיק זהה או החכם הרב הזה השורי
גופו בקבר הזה הנוחים עצמותיו בתוך האבנים
הלו ויהיו תחית עולם שאין אחריה טיתה
תחיות המבליות כל מיתה המתה כל דמעה
המפרה כל חರפה לחיים נירשלם עם
שבעה רועים ושמונה נסיכים הנאמר בהם
זהה זה שלום אשור כי יבוא בארץנו וכי ידרוך
בארנוותינו והקמן עליו שבעה רועים ושמונה
נסיכי אדם וישראל חלקו עם המשכילים ומצדיקי
הרניכם

הרבים שהם כוכבים לעולם ועד וכל שארית
 עם יי' בית ישראל השומרים ברית אלהינו העשיהם
 רצונו גם הם כלם ינערם יי' אלהינו מUPERם
 יהי חלכם וחלקו בחיים חיו עולמים לקיים
 מהם כלם קטנים ונholes נקראו שכותג יהי
 פשת בר הארץ בראש חרים ירעש כלבנון פריו^ן
 ויציו מעיר בעשב הארץ וקיים הבטהתו
 שהבטיה על ידו ישביהו בן אמוץ הנביה יהו
 מתיק נבלתי יוכוון הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר כי
 טל אורות טלך וארץ רפואי תפיל וכמו שהבטיה
 לדניאל איש המורות אתה לך לך ותנווה
 ותעמוד לנורלך לך הימין וכמו שהבטיה לכל
 קהילות ישראל על ידו עבדו וחזקם בן בוז הכהן
 בגין הנבאה ואמרת ליהם כה אמר יי' אהבת
 היה אני פותית את קבוחותיכם יכם והעלית
 אתכם מקריםיכם עמי וhabati אתכם ל
 אדמת ישראל וידעתם כי אני בפהתי את
 קברותיכם ונהלותי אתכם מקריםיכם עמי
 ונתתי רוחי בכם והייתם והנהתי אתכם על
 אדמתכם וידעתם כי אני יי' דברתו ועשיתנו נאום
 יי' ילו הסדרים בכבוד ורננו על משכבותם
 וצדיקים ישמחו ויללו לפניהם אלהים וישישו בישועתו
 ואמר ביום ההוא חנוך אלהינו זה קיינו לו וישענו
 חי' קיינו לו נnilה ונשמחה בישועתו ואנהנו נברך
 יי' מעתה ועד עולם הללויה

Sit voluntas Domini Dei nostri, Creatoris nostri,
 Sancti nostri, Sancti Jacob, qui creavit omnes filios
 fæderis sui in judicio, & vitam ipsi tribuit in judicio,
 & mori fecit ipsos in judicio & resuscitaturus est ipsos

ad vitam seculi futuri, quique novit numerum eorum omnium [ut] ita acceleret ac festinet expergesfacere Dominum & Doctorem nostrum Haggaeonem [Eximium] sanctum istum [aut Justum istum, aut Sapientem Doctorem istum] cuius corpus habitat in sepulchro isto, cuius ossa in medio lapidum istorum requiescent, & vivificet ipsum vitâ aeternâ quam nulla mors sequitur, vitâ quæ omnem mortem absorbet, quæque omnes lachrymas absterget, atque omne opprobrium aufert, unâ cum omnibus, qui vitæ adscripti sunt in Jerusalem, cum septem pastoribus, & octo principibus, de quibus dictum est, Micha v. 4. Eritque iste pax, quando Assur venerit in terram nostram, & cum calcaverit in palatiis nostris, & suscitabimus adversus eum septem pastores, & octo principes hominum, dæque ipsi partem cum intelligentibus, iisque qui justificant multos qui erunt instar stellarum in seculum & sempiternum: quin & totum residuum populi Domini, domus Israel [eorum] qui custodiunt pactum Dei nostri, & faciunt beneplacitum ipsius, omnes [inquam] istos excutiat Dominus Deus noster è pulvere ipsorum, sitque sors ipsorum & sors nostra in vita, vitâ seculorum, ut stabilit in ea illos omnes tam parvos quam magnos, [secundum illud quod in] textu scriptum est, Psal. lxxii. 16. Et erit particula frumenti in terra, in vertice montium, commovebitur ut Lebanon fructus ejus & florebunt de civitate sicut herba terræ, & confirmet fiduciam istam quâ confidere fecit per Isaiam filium Amos Prophetam, cap. xxvi. 19. Vivent mortui tui, cum cadavere meo resurgent, quia ros olerum ros tuus, & terra mortuos tuos projicit. Et sicut promisit Danieli viro desideriorum, cap. xii. 13. Tu autem vade ad præfinitum, & requiesce, & stabis forte tua in fine dierum, & sicut promisit omnibus cœtrivis Israëlis per servum suum Ezechielem, filium Buzi sacerdotem, cap. xxxvii. 12, 13, 14. Ideo vaticinare,

& dices illis, Sic dicit Dominus Deus, Ego aperio sepulchra vestra, & educam vos è sepulchris vestris, popule mi, & indam vobis spiritum meum, & vivetis; & statuam vos super terram vestram, & scietis quod ego Dominus locutus sim, & fecerim, dicit Dominus, *Exultent Sancti cum gloria, cantent super letis suis: Gaudentque justi & exultent coram Deo, & lætentur in salute ipsius.* Dicetque die illo, Isa. xxv. 9. Ecce Deus noster hic, expectavimus ipsum, exultabimus & lætabimur in salute ipsius; *Et nos benedicemus Domino ab hoc tempore usque in seculum. Hallelujah.*

“ Let the Will of our Lord God be done, our
 “ Creator, our Holy One, of Holy Jacob, who
 “ created all the Sons of his Covenant in Judg-
 “ ment, who gave them Life in Judgment, and
 “ caused them to die in Judgment, and he is
 “ ready to raise them up to the Life of the World
 “ to come, and who knew the Number of them
 “ all, that he may hasten on and speed to awaken
 “ our Lord and Doctor *Haggaon* that Saint [or
 “ that just Man, or that wise Doctor] whose Body
 “ resteth in this Sepulchre, whose Bones rest in
 “ the Middle of these Stones, and let him raise
 “ him up to a Life eternal, a Life which no Death
 “ followeth, a Life which swalloweth up all Death,
 “ which wipeth off all Tears, which taketh away
 “ every Reproach, together with all those who
 “ are appointed to live in *Jerusalem*, with the
 “ seven Pastors, and eight Princes, concerning
 “ whom it is said, *Micah v. 5. And this Man shall*
 “ *be the Peace, when the Assyrian shall come into*
 “ *our Land, and when he shall tread in our Palaces,*
 “ *then shall we raise against him seven Shepherds,*
 “ *and eight principal Men, and he shall make his*
 “ *Part with the Prudent, and with those who*
 “ *justify many, who shall be like the Stars for ever*
 and

" and ever: Together with the Residue of the
 " People of God, of the House of *Israel*, who
 " keep the Covenant of our God, and who do
 " his Will, even all those may our God raise out
 " of the Dust, and may their Part and our Part
 " be in Life, Life eternal, and may he establish
 " therein all both Small and Great, according to
 " what is written *Psalm lxxii. 16.* *There shall be*
 " *an Handful of Corn in the Earth upon the Top*
 " *of the Mountains; the Fruit thereof shall shake*
 " *like Lebanon, and they of the City shall flourish*
 " *like Grafs of the Earth*, and he shall confirm
 " the Confidence whereby he made us confide by
 " the Mouth of *Isaiah the Son of Amos, Isa. xxvi.*
 " *19. Thy dead Men shall live, together with my*
 " *dead Body shall they arise: Awake and sing ye*
 " *that dwell in Dust: for thy Dew is as the*
 " *Dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast out the*
 " *Dead.* And as he promised to *Daniel a Man*
 " *of Desires, Dan. xii. 13.* *But go thou thy Way*
 " *till the End be, for thou shalt rest, and stand in*
 " *the Lot at the End of the Days, and as he pro-*
 " *mised to all the Assemblies of the House of*
 " *Israel by the Mouth of his Servant Ezekiel, the*
 " *Son of Buz his Prophet, Ch. xxxvii. 12, 13, 14.*
 " *Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith*
 " *the Lord God, Behold, O my People, I will open*
 " *your Graves, and cause you to come up out of your*
 " *Graves, and bring you into the Land of Israel.*
 " *Vers. 13. And ye shall know that I am the Lord,*
 " *when I have opened your Graves, O my People,*
 " *and brought you up out of your Graves. Vers. 14.*
 " *And shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live,*
 " *and I will place you in your own Land: then shall*
 " *ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and per-*
 " *formed it, saith the Lord.* And we shall say in
 " that Day, *Isa. xxv. 9. Lo this is our God, we*

“ have waited for him, and he will save us : This is
 “ the Lord, we have waited for him, we will be
 “ glad, and rejoice in his Salvation ; and we will
 “ bleſs the Lord from this Time forth and for
 “ ever.” Hallelujah.

In this Form of a Praying, while that he rehearseth summarily those Places of Scripture in which they think the Resurrection of the Dead to be proved, it may be obſerved, among the rest to be reckoned up fully, *Micah v. 5. And this Man ſhall be the Peace, when the Aſſyrian ſhall come into our Land, and when he ſhall tread in our palaces,* וְקַבֵּן עָלָיו שְׁבָעָה רְعִים וְשְׁמָנָה נְסִיכִי אָדָם and we will raise up againſt him ſeven Paſtors, and eight principal Men. The ſame is alſo brought by *R. Saadia l. Emanoth c. 7.* among other Things to confirm this Article, the Arguments but thoſe rather which are fetched from the *Talmud* and Tradition than from the Scripture. For the whole Force of the Argument brought from thence depends upon a Tradition by which the ſeven Paſtors and eight principal Men are reckoned up fully one after another. So in *Tr. Succa. c. 5.* it is ſaid בָּאָן נִנְהָוּ רְעוּם דָּוד בָּאָמֵץ אָדָם שַׁת וּמְתֻוּשָׁלָח מִימִינָנוּ אַבְרָהָם וּיְעָקֹב וּמֹשֶׁה מִשְׁמָאָל וּמַאי נִנְהָוּ ח' נְסִיכִי אָדָם יְשִׁי וַיְשָׁאָל וְשְׁמֹואָל עִמּוֹם צְפַנְיָה חָקִיוֹת וְאֶלְיוֹן וּמִשִּׁיחָה

Quinam ſunt ſeptem iſti Paſtores ?
 David, in medio,

Adam, Seth, & Methusalach ad dextram ipſius,
 Abraham, Jacob & Mofe ad ſinistram.

Et quinam octo Principes viri ?
 Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephantah, Hezekias,
 Eliah, Meſſias.

Who are those seven Pastors?

*David, in the Middle,
Adam, Seth, Methusalah at the right Hand,
Abraham, Jacob, and Moses on the left Hand.*

And,

Who are those eight Princes of Men?

*Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephaniah, Hezekias,
Eliab, Messias.*

Now if you will believe those raised up [for that then will be the Force of the Word **הַקְמוּנוּ** we will raise up] that they may break the Force of the *Affyrian*, in no wise it will be doubted of the Resurrection. But *R. Salomo* affirms he knows not, whence they have drawn these: Yet it is more wonderful, both what by himself in Commentaries to this Place of the *Talmud* is brought, and by *Juda Zabara*, c. 3. is quoted out of *Midrash Tillim*, where when *Isaac* is omitted *Abraham* and *Jacob* are placed in Order among those Pastors, it is asked *Isaac* **יִצְחָק חִינָן הַלְךָ שָׁאַנְנוּ בְּכָלְ אָלִי** whither went he away that he hath not been among them, and it is answered, **הַלְךָ לְחוֹזֵיאָ רְשֵׁעִי יִשְׁרָאֵל** **מְגִיהָנָם** he went away to lead out the Wicked of the Country of *Israel* out of *Gebenna*. But the Proem of this Speech is taken out of that which in the hundred Forms of Blessings which are detained in the publick Liturgy of the Jews, is prescribed to be rehearsed by those who pass by the Sepulchres of the *Israelites*: But so it hath itself, **בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהָוָה מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר יִצְרָא אֶתְכֶם בְּדִין וְהַחֲזָה אֶתְכֶם בְּדִין וְיִדְעָה מָסְפֵר כָּלֶכֶם וְהִוא עַתִּיד לְהַחֲזֹותֶנֶם וְלְהַקְיֹמֶנֶם**

ולְהַקִּימָנָם בְּכֵן בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהָוָה מֶהָיוֹת הַמְתִים

Benedictus sis tu Domine, Deus noster Rex mundi [ille] qui creavit vos in judicio, & vivificavit vos in judicio, & parit vos in judicio, novitque numerum vestrum omnium, quique vitæ restituturus, & resuscitaturus est vos, in judicio: Benedictus sis Domine qui vivificas mortuos.

“Blessed art thou O Lord, our God King of the World who created you in Judgment, and gave to you Life in Judgment, and brought you forth in Judgment, and who knoweth the Number of you all, and who will restore you to Life, and raise you up in Judgment: Blessed art thou O Lord who quickenest the Dead.” Thus it is in the *Venetian Editions*, which exhibit to us a Liturgy, in Use among the Synagogues which call themselves *Spanish*. But *Nachmanides* reads,

וְהִיא עַתָּה לְהַקִּים אַתָּם לְחַי הָעוֹלָם
Et qui resuscitaturus est vos ad vitam mundi futuri in judicio: “ And who will raise you to the Life of the World to come in Judgment.”

I think this not unseasonable to be advised, that we suffer not Chaff to be forced upon us by the Jews instead of Wheat, or that we should easily imbibe Errors and Opinions less sound depending more on the Traditions of them than on the sincere Word of God. Which I fear they have done who believe and force upon others, of the Reign of Christ, and of the Saints with him in the Earth, many Things relying upon no Foundation of Scripture, during which they meddle themselves again with earthly Things, and take Pleasure in them, [a pretty while since admitted to better] all which [if I am not deceived] will be found to have drawn their Original from the Jews, who deny and endeavour

deavour to shift off the first Advent of *Christ*, in which in Time past he was in Sight. For from them what the *Jews* resolve of the Age of the Resurrection, which will be before the End of a Sixth of a thousand Years, and the Days of the *Messias* such as is feigned by them, scarce depart a Nail's Breadth. *Abarbinel* rightly in this, *The perfect Faith suffers neither to be added to nor drawn away from itself*. We have received a perfect Rule of Faith from *Christ*, it will become, nothing to be embraced save what should be agreeable to it, by whatsoever Author at last commended. *What hath Chaff to do with Wheat? Who hath a Dream let him tell it as a Dream.*

If we may have seemed to have plucked out Chaff instead of Wheat, Coals instead of Treasure, be it imputed to themselves who will be deceiyed with such like [while they neglect rather hate better] yet it will happen to as for not least of all Gain to have found among them nothing better, while that for that Reason thankfully we are compelled to acknowledge, not only that the Resurrection of the Dead is the Confidence of Christians, but also the Knowledge of its Mysteries their only Privilege, not common to others with them. It will render the Benefit of the Light which [by the excessive Goodnes of God] we enjoy more esteemed, to set our Mind to the Darkness in which others miserably stumble.

C H A P. I.

Of the Institution of the Lord's Supper, the Jewish Passover, Burnt Offerings, and Sacrifices; of the Ritual of the present Jews; of Gifts, Oblations, First Fruits, Differences of Meats and Drinks; of New Moons, and Sabbaths; of a threefold Degree of Holiness in Creatures; some Account of Liturgies, Antient and Modern.

IN speaking of the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there are four Circumstances observable,

- I. The Time when he instituted it.
- II. The Matter of which it consisted.
- III. The Manner of its Institution.
- IV. The Annunciation spoken of by St. Paul, *1 Cor. xi. 26.* compared to the *Hagaddah* of the Jews.

I. As to the Time when our Lord instituted his last Supper, it was in the same Night when he was betrayed, being *Thursday* Night, the Preparation of the *Jewish* Passover, which Passover was not to be kept until the Night following; and when it is called, the Day of Unleavened Bread, *Luke xxii. 7.* *Matt. xxvi. 17.* *Mark xiv. 12.*—When the Passover must be killed, on the Evening of which Christ made his Supper, *i. e. Thursday*, which was the 14th Day of the Month *Nisan*, in the Evening, that is mentioned according to the *Jewish* Computation; for the *Jews* reckoned their Day from Evening to Evening, and therefore called it the *Nυχθιμερον*, the Space of twenty-four Hours from a Night

a Night and a Day ; and on *Friday* at Noon the *Jews* would not go into the Judgment-Hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover ; for that Day was the Preparation for it : From hence then it may be observed, that our Lord did not celebrate the *Jewish* Passover, but instituted a commemorative Supper in the Stead of it, because the Circumstance of Time, as he was to suffer on the *Friday*, would not permit him to defer it until *Friday* in the Evening.

II. However, that it succeeded in the Room of the *Jewish* Passover, is an uncontested Point ; and that our Saviour therefore in the Institution of it adopted all those Rites and Ceremonies, which were used in the Celebration of the Paschal Feast, to this his last Supper, but only that it had this one differing Circumstance in it from the other, that it was instituted after that commemorative Supper aforesaid, or Paschal Supper, properly so called ; whereas it was not lawful for the *Jews* to eat any Thing immediately after the Paschal Lamb, or the *Ἐπινωπός*, *Placenta*, or *Cake*, which they eat in the Stead of it, lest the Taste should be lost of either of them ; as *Buxtorf* hath learnedly proved, *Buxtorf. Diff. 7. p. 357. De Cœnâ Dom.* *Quando Sapiens quærit quid sibi volunt ista Statuta, vult dicere, quando quidem principale hujus Dici consistit in Agno Paschali, quā de causâ comedimus Chagigh, ante Pefach, vel Agnum Paschalem, tunc facimus istud secundum Ritus Paschalis Agni, quod non comeditur nisi à saturis, vel post satietatem, ut nempe sapor ejus in ore nostro remaneat.* “ When “ a wise Man shall enquire what mean these Sta- “ tutes, he will say, seeing that the principal Bu- “ sineſ of the Day consists in the Paschal Lamb, “ for this Caufe we eat *Chagigh*, a Feast, before “ the

“ the *Pesach*, or Paschal Lamb, then we do this
 “ according to the Rites of the Paschal Lamb,
 “ which is not eaten only of such as are full, or
 “ after Fulnes; to wit, that the Taste thereof
 “ may remain in our Mouths.” See *Maimonides*,
 as cited by *Pfaffius*, p. 167. because the Eating
 them is a divine Command.

From these it appears, the holy Supper cannot be compared with סעודת מפסקה *Δεῖπνων ἀπλύτην*, or dismissing Supper, which the Jews in Time past as the second Course or Service added to a Banquet of Sacrifice or publick Feast provided out of Things offered, for since that dismissing Supper consisted of Dainties, which in Greek were called by the Jews Ἐπικονιαμον or קנוּת in a proper Form of Speech peculiar to that Place or Country according to *Scaliger*; to wit, if you will call it קנוּת מיעודה; another certain *Suda* could not at all succeed the Paschal publick Feast according to Jewish Tradition for hath their vulgar Canon *Pesach* in *Misna*, Fol. 119. 2. אין מפטירין אחר הפסח אפיקומן *Melā τὸν ἀσχατὸν ἀπλύτην τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπικονιαμόν*; nor have the ritual Books of the Jews any Thing of some such *Suda Muffsekes* following the Paschal publick Feast. However in another Sense its Institution may be derived from the Jewish Rites, to wit, when Sacrifices were formerly offered, according to the Ceremonies of the Jewish Religion, Part of the Offerings were eaten by the Priest and Part by the Offerers, as appears by several Passages in the Old Testament; particularly from *Exodus* xviii. 12. ייְקַח וְתַרְוּ הַתּוֹ מֹשֶׁה עַלְהָ וּוּבְהִים *לְאֱלֹהִים וּוּבָא אַהֲרֹן וְכָל זָקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאַכְלָלָלָהֶם עַמְזִדְתָּן מֹשֶׁה לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* And Jethro, Moses's

ses's Father-in-law, took a Burnt-Offering and Sacrifices for God; and Aaron came, and all the Elders of Israel, to eat Bread before God. So Lev. v. 11.

וְאִם -- לֹא תִשְׁגַּן יְדֹו לְשַׁתּו תְּרֻם אָו לְשַׁנִּי
בְּנִיְקָוָה וְהַבִּיא אֶת יְרַבְּנו אַשְׁד הַטָּא עַשְׁירָת
הַאֲפָה סָלָת לְחַטָּאת לֹא יִשְׁוֹם עַלְיה שְׁמָן
וְלֹא יִתְּנַצֵּל עַלְיה לְבָנָה כִּי חַטָּאת הוּא
וְהַבִּיא רָאשָׁת הַכְהָן וְקָמֶצֶת
הַכְהָן מִמְנָה מְלֹא קָמָצֶת אֶת אַזְכָרָתָה וְהַקְטָרָת
הַמְזָבְחָה עַל אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה חַטָּאת הוּא
shall be bring it to the Priest, and the Priest shall take his Handful of it, even a Memorial thereof, and burn it on the Altar, according to the Offerings made by Fire unto the Lord: it is a Sin-Offering. So Exod. xxxii. 6. And they rose up early on the Morrow, and offered Burnt-Offerings, and brought Peace-Offerings: and the People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. So Chap. xxxiv. 15. Lev. ii. 3. 10. And the Remnant of the Meat-Offerings shall be Aaron's and his Sons: it is a Thing most holy of the Offerings of the Lord made by Fire. So Chap. vi. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 26. And the Remainder thereof shall Aaron and his Sons eat: with unleavened Bread shall it be eaten in the holy Place: in the Court of the Tabernacle of the Congregation shall they eat it. Vers. 26. The Priest that offereth it for Sin, shall eat it: in the holy Place shall it be eaten, in the Court of the Tabernacle of the Congregation. So Chap. vii. 6. Num. xxv. 2. Deut. xii.

17, &c. 1 *Sam.* xiii. 4. Chap. ix. 13. *Psa.* cvi. 28. Therefore our Saviour about to imitate this publick Feast provided out of Things offered and sacrificed, would have us to be Partakers in a publick Eucharistical Feast, of his Body and Blood sacrificed, which he was about to offer upon the Altar of the Crofs.

III. But to return to the Point which I was to prove, and that is to shew, in what respect the Rites of the Holy Eucharist agree with those of the Paschal Feast, I think it needless to produce here for this Purpose all the Circumstances in which they resemble, a late eminent Author having already produced several; I shall therefore only add some few more to those which have by him been already mentioned. And those are, *First*, That the Master of the Family, having both his Hands upon the Bread, gives Thanks to God, for his having produced Bread out of the Earth, in a particular Form; in which it was implied that a Blessing was thereby intended to descend upon the Bread, according to the Law of Nature, which requires, that we should give him Thanks for all the Benefits which we enjoy, and for all his Creatures; which Precept is inculcated by St. Paul under the Gospel, when he says, 1 *Tim.* iv. 4. 5. Πᾶν καίσμα Θεοῦ καλὸν ἐστὶν απόθελντος ἀγα-
γελαι γὰρ διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνθεωρεως: i. e. Every Creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected; for it is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. When therefore our Saviour did use that Jewish Form, or if he used another, as it is believed he might, the Consecration could not consist in that Blessing or Thanksgiving only; nor are the Signs of the Eucharist by that means made an Oblation or Offering to God, any more than any Things

may be said to be, which are sanctified to our Use. *Secondly*, The next which I shall mention, shall be taken from Doctor Covel's Account of the present *Greek Church*, published *A. D. 1722*. “ Christ's Institution of the Sacrament was by breaking and distributing of Bread, and giving the Cup after the Paschal Supper, and was no Part of the legal Passover; but it seems to be appointed by him purely in the Place of another Custom, then practised by the Jews after the Supper; which was no-where prescribed by the Law of Moses, but was taken up in much later Times, and so by Tradition transmitted down to our Saviour's Time; and it was after the Paschal Supper was over. When the Master of the Family distributed $\tau\alpha\ \kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha$, the Fragments of unleavened Bread to his Companions and Domesticks, he repeated this Form of Words: “ ‘Ο δὲ ὁ ἄρις ταλαιπωριας, ὃν ἐφαῖσαν οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμών ἐν τῇ γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας ὁ πεινῶν δεῦρο καὶ φαγέσθω πάσας ὁ χρεῖαν ἔχων δεῦρο καὶ παχαλιζέσθω. This is the Bread of Affliction which our Fathers have eaten in the Land of Egypt; whosoever is hungry, let him come hither and eat; whosoever hath Need, let him come hither and celebrate the Passover.’” Which was the Form used while the Temple was standing; but after the Destruction of the City and Temple, another Part was added to the former, suitable to the Times, which is as follows: *Pfaff. p. 174.* Νῦν μὲν ἐνθάδε, εἰς νέωλα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἰσραὴλ. Νῦν μὲν ἐνθάδε δεῖλοι, εἰς νέωλα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἰσραὴλ ἐλευθεροι. Now indeed we are here, but in the Year following we shall be in the Land of Israel: Now indeed we are here Servants, but for the Year to come we shall be free Sons in the Land of Israel.

Dr. Covel, in his Account of the present *Greek Church*, published in the Year of our Lord 1722, *Cap. I. p. 5.* has given us the Manner of the whole Ceremony out of the Ritual of the present *Jews* (who, he says, all over the East and West, where he had been, retain in a Manner the very same ancient Custom) which I shall here transcribe for the Satisfaction of the Reader.

The Benediction of the Cup now is : “ Blessed
 “ art thou, O Lord, our God, King of the World,
 “ who hast created the Fruit of the Vine ; then
 “ every one drinks his Vessel or Cup of Wine :
 “ Then the Master of the Family takes Smallage
 “ and Vinegar, and giving a Benediction, he eats
 “ of it, and gives some to every one of the rest.
 “ After this he takes three unleavened Cakes (laid
 “ one upon another) and he divides that which
 “ lies in the Middle into Halves ; one whereof he
 “ puts again in the Middle between the other two
 “ Cakes, where it was before ; the other Half he
 “ puts under the Table-cloth : Then follows this
 “ Declaration, as spoken of all the Cakes (per-
 “ haps of all the unleavened Bread prepared for
 “ the Festival) tho’ in the Singular Number, This
 “ is the Bread ; as the *Greek Priests*, in making
 “ their Præsanctificate, say, Ποιησον τὸν μὲν ἄπλον
 “ τὸλον, make this Bread likewise in the Singular
 “ Number ; altho’ he speaks it of many Breads.
 “ *Este el Pan de Affliction, que comieron nuestros*
 “ *Padres, en Tierra de Egypto ; todo el que fam-*
 “ *briento, venga y coma ; todo el que menesterolo,*
 “ *venga y pascue, este Anno Aqui, para Anno el*
 “ *venidero, en Tierra de Ysrael hijos forros.* This
 “ is the Bread of Affliction which our Fathers have
 “ eaten in the Land of *Egypt* ; every one that is
 “ hungry, let him come and eat ; every one that
 “ wants, let him come and keep the Festival :
 “ This

“ This present Year we are here, and for the Year
 “ to come we shall be free Sons in the Land of
 “ *Israel*. Then, after some Account of the Night
 “ of the Passover, and a Commemoration of the
 “ Slavery in *Egypt* (which they call **אנדרה** *Ha-*
 “ *gaddah*) and their Deliverance, and of the Plagues
 “ which they sent upon the *Egyptians*, and their
 “ giving of Thanks, and repeating the cxiiith
 “ and cxivth *Psalms*, every one drinks; and the
 “ Master of the Family takes the uppermost Cake,
 “ and the Half that is under it, and saying the
 “ common Benediction, Blessed be thou, O Lord,
 “ our God, King of the World, who hast brought
 “ forth Bread out of the Earth, and adding ano-
 “ ther short one, he eats of them, and gives some
 “ to every one. Then taking Lettice, and saying
 “ a Benediction, he eats of it, and distributes that
 “ likewise. Next he takes the whole undermost
 “ Cake, and Lettice, and other green Herbs, and
 “ after a Remembrance of the Sanctuary, he eats
 “ and distributes also Part thereof unto every one.”

This is all the Supper they have after the Paschal Lamb is left off. “ But then, after this Supper,
 “ before the Grace or Blessing of the Table is said,
 “ he takes the Half Cake, which he at first laid
 “ under the Table-cloth, and breaking it in Pieces,
 “ about the Bigness of an Olive, he eats one him-
 “ self, and gives as much to every one of the rest;
 “ then they fill their Cups with Wine, and so say
 “ Grace, or the Benediction of the Table; next
 “ every body drinks: Then they fill their Cups
 “ again; then they say the cxvth, cxvith, cxviith,
 “ and cxviiith *Psalms*, and a short Prayer, or rather
 “ Praise; and so every one drinks off his Cup;
 “ and neither eat nor drink any more all that
 “ Night.” And this is all they retain of the an-
 “ cient *Post-cenam* or After-supper. Since the Eat-
 ing

ing of the Paschal Lamb (as is said) is left off, they have fallen into this Way, which is a Shadow of it.

IV. As the *Judaizing Christians*, seeing the great Resemblance which the Rites of the Eucharist bore to those of the *Jews*, which they used in their Paschal Feast, were apt to imagine that the same Commemoration was to be observed in both, as the Word *Kαλαγγέλλειν*, to *annunciate*, or *shew forth*, answers very well to the *Hagaddah*, to *annunciate*; the Apostle therefore admonished them, that the Death of our Lord is what we are to *annunciate*, 1 Cor. xi. 26. And as the *Jews* spent a whole Night in magnifying the Works of God, in singing their *Hagaddah* (as Buxtorf hath informed us) so our Lord and his Apostles sung an Hymn after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. But whether or no any particular Words were added to those Hymns, that the Apostles might know in particular what they were to commemorate, remains a Dispute among the Learned.

There were certain Rites among the *Jews*, and which Apostles and apostolical Men handed down to Posterity, to the Churches in succeeding Ages, which were the Offering of Eucharistical Gifts and Oblations to be consecrated, as well as of First Fruits. *Irenæus*, who calls the former a new Oblation, and likewise confounds it with that Oblation of the First Fruits, says, “ The new Oblation “ (which he calls the Oblation of First Fruits) “ was delivered to the Disciples of *Christ* by him-“ self immediately, by way of Command or Coun-“ sel;” although it is very certain, that he gave no such Command concerning any Oblation of First Fruits, except what he gave by his own Ex-
ample

ample at the first Institution of the Holy Eucharist, where there does not appear to have been any such Eucharistical Oblation, or Oblation of the First Fruits made by him, other than what is expressly mentioned by him in the first Article of the preceding Chapter, and where I spoke of the Circumstances in which the Rites of the Holy Eucharist resemble those which had been anciently used at the Celebration of the Paschal Feast. But St. *Paul* distinguishes these second Ordinances from the Command of our Lord, as we may learn from *1 Cor.* xi. 34. *Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἀντίληφτοι αὐτοῖς οὐταλαζομαι.* *The rest will I set in Order when I come.* So from Chap. vii. 10. 12. So from *2 Theffal.* ii. 15. *Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the Traditions which ye have been taught, whether by Word, or our Epistle.* So from *St. Basil.* Op. Tom. *De Spir. Sanct.* Cap. 27. “ Some of the Ordinances and Institutions observed in the Church, we have taught us in express Words of Scripture, and some we have received as delivered in secret by Tradition from the Apostles; both which are of like Use unto Godliness; nor doth any Man speak against these, who is the least conversant in Ecclesiastical Constitutions.” * To these apostolical Traditions were added by apostolical Men the Oblation of the Gifts to be consecrated upon the Altar, or Communion-Table. *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*, p. 399, 400, makes particular Mention of an Oblation of First Fruits to him, who said, *Let the Earth bring forth Herbs and Grass;* his Words are, ‘*Ηγεῖσθαι τῷ εἰώνῃ, Βλαστίσασιν ἢ γῆν βολαννού χόρτος.*’ But to these *διατάξεις δευτέρας τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, second Constitution of the Apostles, our *Irenaeus* refers

* *Pfaffius de Oblat. Vet. Euch.* p. 182.

the Eucharistical Oblation: So that there will be some Difficulty in reconciling St. *Paul* in the aforesaid Passages with *Irenæus*, and indeed *Irenæus* with himself, who speaks in the Fragments of *Irenæus*, as they are called by *Pfaffius*, of *δευτέρας διατάξεως Αποστόλων*, second Constitutions of the Apostles, and referred to them the Oblation of the Eucharist; yet calls it a new Oblation taught the Disciples by our Lord, Book iv. Chap. 17. § 5. against the Heresies. *Dominus noster suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis; non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit et gratias egit dicens: Hoc est corpus meum: et calicem similiter, qui est ex creatura, quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est. Et Novi Testamenti novam docuit Oblationem, &c.* “ Our Lord giving “ Counsel to his Disciples to offer to God the First “ Fruits of his Creatures; not as if he wanted, “ but that they should be neither unfruitful nor “ ungrateful, took that which is out of his Creature Bread, and gave Thanks saying: This is “ my Body: And in like Manner the Cup, which “ is out of the Creature, which is according to “ us, he confessed to be his Blood. And taught “ a new Oblation of the New Testament,” &c. where he speaks not only of an Eucharistical Oblation of Bread, but of an Oblation of First Fruits to be offered by the Command or Counsel of our Lord. These Words are worthy of Attention; for from these it follows, the Law concerning the Oblation of First Fruits given in the Old Testament was not abrogated in the New, but the old Custom retained, nor could the Eucharist, Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper be provided but out of the First Fruits, if you follow close the Letter of *Irenæus*. Finally, they know, who have bestowed

It was Labour on Ecclesiastical Tradition, it was ordained by many Councils, that Fruits or other Fruits without Distinction should not be offered at the Altar. See Apostolical Canon iii. and Canon xxviii. of the Council of *Trullo*, and the Council of *Carthage* held *A. D.* 397. where among other Things also the Oblation of First Fruits in express Terms is banished. The Words of the Apostolical Canon intimate, the Things which are offered at the Altar besides Bread and Wine, are offered *ωαρά τὸν ὑπὸ Κυρίας διάταξιν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ*, contrary to the Command of the Lord concerning the Sacrifice. Yet an Exception is added *ωλην
νέων χιδρῶν ή ταχνας στε ή ταφυλῆς*, except new Grains of Wheat or Ears of Corn or Bunches of Grapes, which still might be offered upon the Altar, but to the Altar according to Can. IV. *ελαιον εἰς τὸν ἀγίαν λυχναν καὶ θυμιαν τῷ καιρῷ
τῆς θείας αὐαφορᾶς*, Oil for the sacred Light and Frankincense in the Time of the divine Offering might be offered, but Can. V. expressly forbids concerning First Fruits; * *ηδὲ ἄλλη ωσα ὑπώρα
εἰς οἶκον ἀποτελλέσθω, ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ
τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι τοῖς, αλλὰ μὴ ωρὸς τὸ θυσιατήριον
δῆλον δέ, ὡς οἱ ἐπισκόποι καὶ οἱ ἀρχοῦσι τοῖς
μεριζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς.* Let all the Harvest be brought into the House as First Fruits to the Bishop, and to the Presbyters, but not to the Altar, it is plain the Bishop and the Elders distribute Part both to the Deacons and the Rest of the Clergy, which they offered for the Maintenance of the Clergy, Widows and Maids. These Words seem to be altogether decisive, that it might be demonstrated, it was believed among

the Ancients, First Fruits are not to be offered upon the Altar according to Christ's Institution. But were brought by all the People for the Support of the Bishop and Clergy. The Words of 3d Apostolical Canon are, * ἐι τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ἀρχοντής τερπεῖ προσφέρει τὸν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Θυσίᾳ προσενέγκην ἐπέρα τινα ἐπὶ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ Θυσιαζόντιον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα ἢ αὐτὶ σικερα, ἐπιλινθεύλας-ἢ ὄρεις, ἢ ζῷα τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια προσφέρει τὸν διάταξιν, καθαιρεῖσθω. If any Bishop or Presbyter, otherwise than our Lord ordained concerning the Sacrifices, offers other Things upon the Altar, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Θυσίᾳ, in the Holy Communion, except new Grains of Wheat, Ears of Corn or Grapes at the proper Season. As Honey, Milk, or instead of Wine strong Drink, artificial, or Birds, or other Animals, or Pulse contrary to the Ordinance, let him be deposed. But the Council in *Trullo*, understanding that the Ministers of some Churches used ἐπὶ Θυσίᾳ at the Communion to join the Oblation of the Grapes, [which were only to be blessed as First Fruits,] with the unbloody Oblation, and to distribute both together to the People, they forbad any Priest to do so for the Time to come, but to deliver to the People only the Oblation for the Resurrection after Death, unto eternal Life, and the Remission of Sins.

The Text of the Council of *Carthage* is, that in the Eucharist nothing should be offered, but what the Lord himself commanded, Bread and Wine mixed with Water, but the First Fruits of which were offered, Honey and Milk, on the accustomed Day for Infants, though they be offered upon the Altar, that they may be distinguished

* *Pfaffus*, p. 312.

from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. The People brought, when they came to the Holy Communion, not only Money, as now is the Custom, but other Things, strong Liquors, Meat ready dressed for the *Agapē*, Love Feast, others brought Oil for the Lamps; others brought Frankincense, not for Fumigation, but for embalming the Dead; others Honey, Milk, Fowls, Sheep, or other Animals proper for Food, and Grain. Now it appears from this Canon, that some Bishops and Presbyters did not only take Bread and Wine for the Eucharist out of these Oblations of the People, but would take something out of every Kind of Thing that the People brought, and make a solemn Oblation of it at the Altar. This was a plain Abuse and Corruption, and therefore justly condemned by these Canons, and those who made the Canons did certainly know that none of the Things were any Part of Christ's Institution.

As for those other Offerings which were made by themselves upon the Altar, they were blessed with a peculiar Benediction and Consecration, as appears by the 37th Canon of the Council of *Carthage* aforesaid. Let them have their peculiar Benediction, that they may be distinguished from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord; nor let any other First Fruits be offered but Corn and Grapes, *nec amplius in primitias offeratur quam de Uvis & Frumentis*. The Form of Benediction we have mentioned in the Sacramentary of St. *Gregory*, p. 250. *Domine, qui cælum & terram & omnia creasti, te supplices quæsumus, ut hunc fructum novum benedicere, & sanctificare digneris, & multiplicare abundanter afferentibus tibi, ut repleas eorum cellaria cum fortitudine frumenti & vini, ut letantes in eis, referunt tibi Deo omnipotenti, laudes & gratias.*

ties. " O Lord, who hast created Heaven and Earth and all Things, we humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this new Fruit, and abundantly multiply them for those who offer them unto thee, that thou wilt replenish their Storehouses with the Strength of Corn and Wine, that rejoicing in them, they may offer Thee, the Omnipotent, Thanks and Praise."

Also this Form of Oblation of First Fruits is read L. viii. c. 40. of the Apostolical Constitutions εὐχαριστήμεν σοι, Κύριε παντοκράτορε δημιουργε τῶν οὐλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν, &c. We give Thanks to Thee, Omnipotent Lord, Creator of all Things, and Provider.

The Reason of this Law, we have set forth in the second Book of the Apostolical Canons, Cap. 25. in these Words, τὰ δεδουέα καὶ ἐπολιτεύεται δε τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν απαγχῶν ὡς δεῖς αὐθεντὸν ἀναλισκέτω, i. e. Whatsoever Tythes, or First Fruits are given according to the Command of God, let Man pay, as belonging to God. See likewise the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Book viii. Chap. 30. 40. and Book vii. Chap. 29. and Can. 3. 4.

Here we have a manifest Proof, that the Bishops and Clergy, in the Times of *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus*, had such large Donations made them, that they were sufficient for themselves, and all other Charities besides; when they both mention First Fruits, they mean Tythes, because the Liberality of Christians in those pious Ages of Christianity, commonly paid more than the tenth Part, in their Donations to the Church, which was reckoned only, Απαγχήν γε τινὰ ἡ δεκάτην, the First Fruits, in a lesser valuable Portion or Quantity. *Irenæus* says, that we ought to offer to God the

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First Fruits of his Creatures, as *Moses* said, *Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty.*

And Lib. iv. Cap. 27. when he speaks of those Precepts, which *Christ* came not to dissolve but to enlarge, he reckons one of them to be, thou shalt pay Tythes; and his Testimony gives Credit to what is said in the 2d, 3d, and 4th Apostolical Canons, concerning the Usage of paying the First Fruits of Honey, Milk, Liquors, Birds, and Beasts, Pulse, Grapes, and Corn, which were ordered to be sent to the Bishop's House, as First Fruits for him, and his Presbyters; and so great was the Piety of those Times, that there were other large Oblations made by the *Christians* for the same Purpose, in Obedience to God's Law. Thus we see that the *Christian* Compilers of those Canons esteemed those Offerings to have been due according to the Law of Nature and moral Justice, that He should have a Portion rendered back to him of those Things which he bestows upon us his Creatures, and that his Priests are substituted by him as the proper Receivers of them; they were paid, as we have seen, by *Abraham* to *Melchisedech*, Gen. xiv. 20. and vowed by *Jacob*, Gen. xxviii. 22. and they doubtless understood this Precept, either by divine Revelation, or by universal Tradition. It was observed both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and what our Saviour approved of, 1 Cor. ix. 14.

So that Tythes were paid originally to the Priests, even before there were any human Laws made about them.

But there is another Sense of the Word 'Απαρχή, *Primitiæ*. First Fruits, by which they understood the best and most excellent of any Thing which was offered to God before the Rest was made use of, 1 Sam. xv. 21. So that whether any Thing be offered to Him for the Use of his Service and Worship,

Worship, or for the Maintenance of those who are employed to minister, it is rightly called by these Names of First Fruits, Ἀπαρχὴ, *Aparchæ*, and Oblations, *Oblationes*, or προσφοραὶ, *prosphorai*.

And in the Primitive Church the First Fruits offered by the Laity were designed for the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Clergy; but not according to *Irenæus*'s Account for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. However, as it is a Respect which we owe to that venerable Light of the Christian Church, not to charge him with any Mistake, we must say, the First Fruits, according to him, must be understood that which is the most excellent of Fruits, Bread and Wine; for nothing is more especial among all Foods than Bread and Wine.

But there is no Cause why here we should labour so greatly in explaining the Mind of *Irenæus*, since this New Oblation is nothing else, than εὐλογία εὐλογία Blessing of the Signs of the Eucharist, wherein we confess, ourselves to have received these Gifts from God, wherein for them we give Thanks to God the Creator, and with our Prayers offer and dedicate the same to him, intreating moreover, that he would vouchsafe to render them holy to our Use and with his omnipotent Virtue to retain in them the Body and Blood of his Son Jesus Christ present to us. See *Pfaffius's Book upon the unreceived Fragments of St. Irenæus*, p. 9. 49. Among the Jews there were likewise Gifts offered unto God, which it was not lawful for any private Person to apply to his own proper Use. The Pharisees wrested that Law to a very wicked Sense for their own Interest, as we read *Mark vii. 11.* where our Saviour reproaches them for their Abuse of the Word *Corban*.

Calmet

“ The Parents were left without Relief in their old Age, an Interpretation not agreeable to the Jewish Practice, among whom appear no Foot-steps of Dedicating or Consecrating at all to God. The Sons mentioned in the Gospel declared every Thing *Corban*, that they could contribute to the Support of their Father or Mother ; they were induced to this Cruelty by some Transport of Passion only, for had they done so through Avarice, what could they have gained by devoting that to God, which they refused their Parents ; but without devoting it to God, they were satisfied with declaring it to be *Corban* with respect to those to whom a Part of it was due ; for Example, My whole Fortune to you is *Corban* as hurtful to touch, as if a private Person were to take a Gift offered to God for his own Use.” *Calm.* p. 147.

Of this Gift Mention is made by our Saviour,
Mark vii. 10, 11. Wherein he justly reproaches

them, that by virtue of a Tradition of theirs, i. e. *Pharisees*, that Honour which is due to Parents, not only by the tacit Command of Nature, but the express Command of God, is denied them. *Moses* said, Honour thy Father and thy Mother: and, Whoso curseth Father or Mother, let him die the Death: 11 But ye say, If a Man shall say to his Father or Mother, It is Corban; that is to say, a Gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me: he shall be free. 12, 13 And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his Father or his Mother: Making the Word of God of none Effect through your Tradition, which ye have delivered: and many such like Things do ye. For the better clearing this Point, we shall consider what was the *Jewish* Tradition opposite to the Command of God, as delivered by *Moses*. The Doctrine of the *Jews* נטורת הקנלה by Tradition [as they would] derived from Elders, If any one shall say to his Father or Mother, Corban, i. e. let it be a Gift, by whatsoever thou mayest be profited by me, *Beza* supplies, αναίτιος εγώ, he shall be guiltless, but more conveniently perhaps with the Dialect of the Tradition will be supplied אסור he is forbidden, he is kept back by a Vow of forbidding least he should do them a good Turn, or אסוריון כהנאותו it is forbidden them from taking Profit from him.

Joseph Albo separates the *Mosaick Law*, together with the Commands contained under it, into three Parts; to wit, first of all דברים Words, by which Name he calls those Things which teach us to know and think true Things concerning God.

Secondly, חוקים Decrees, from Commands those to wit the Reason of which we know not.

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The third Time **משפטים** Judgments, to wit those which are put in Writing that they might be a Rule of what is reasonable and upright to be observed among Men. That concerning which here it is treated, is of the Number of those Judgments, no more Gbd, than Reason, and Nature herself [as we said] dictating, by no means to be violated. By which [as much as makes for a present Purpose] I have Leave to observe, from the Opinion of Masters, it is willed and commanded Children that they should cherish, nourish, cloath their Parents; and help their Poverty by what Means they can. But yet all which is utterly denied to them by an Axiom of a perverse Tradition, while that he is forbidden who hurried away by the Violence either of Anger, or Avarice, or some ungodly Passion of the Mind, hath rashly bound himself by a Vow, lest his Parents should receive Advantage from any Thing which is in his Power, to perform to them any Office of Piety.

For those Words *Kopλαν* ο ἐστιν ἐξ ἐμού ὡφεληθῆς, are nothing other than a Manner or Fashion of a solemn Vow among the Jews, which in Words taken out from their Discipline so I may bring out **קרבנכל מה שתהנה ממני** let all be *Corban* from which thou mayest receive Profit from me; to wit it is as much forbidden thee and unlawful, to take Profit from any Thing which is in my Power, as for any one to convert to his own Use some *Corban*, or Thing consecrated to God in the Name of a Gift. *Ludovicus Cappellus* so brings out the Manner or Fashion of a formal Vow which he thinks was accustomed among them, **קרבן שני נהנה לך** which according to his Mind will signify let it be a Gift, that by which I can be profitable to thee, which although in *Misna* in the whole

Tract *Nadarimit* meets not with us, but its Substitute, קומס שאינו נהנה לך he faith every where yet is found among the Commentators of the *Talmud* in that Place, of the first Word, whether *Corban*, or if *Conam* [which to it is כינוי [as they speak]] its doing another's Office or a Name Sake] be resolved, it hath itself alike, nor doth it much concern if שאני שאני be read ; the Matter returns to the same Place or End. But in the Residue to be explained we cannot agree with the most learned Man, for what he נהנה לך may be profitable to thee, will have rendered, on the contrary seemeth to signify, I may take Profit from your Riches : This is plain from the continual Use through that whole Tract of Vows of *Misna*, and shall be put beyond doubt by one or another Example brought. Such like is what meets Ch. 3. §. 11. of that Treatise, where if some one hath uttered these Words קומס שאינו נהנה לישראל *Conam* or *Corban* that I should not *Nebene le Israel* they resolve it to lie upon him that he should be לוקח ביותר ומצויר בפחות or he should buy dear and sell cheap, but if on the contrary קומס שישראלי נהנין לו let it be a Gift by which *Israel Nebenin li* may take Profit from my Riches, then לוקח בפחות ומצויר ביותר אם שומעין לו that he should buy cheap, and sell dear, if they will listen to him. Hence therefore it is manifest *Nebene le Israel*, is to be rendered, I should take Profit from *Israel*, or the *Israelites*, and שישראלי נהנין לו whereby the *Israelites* can be helped by me [or my Riches] not according to the Mind of *Cappellus* if I should be profitable to *Israelites*, and, whereby *Israelites* could profit

profit me. For who buyeth dear, and selleth cheap, more hath an Eye unto Gain of others than his own, and on the contrary, who desireth to buy cheap, but to sell dear, if the Buyer should suffer himself to be persuaded of this, more provides for his own Commodity than another's. therefore in these Manners or Fashions of speaking beareth the same Sway as ב or צן and in like Sort by R. Obadiab and in *Caph Nachat* לישראלי is expounded not [to *Israel*] but משל ישראלי of those which are of the *Israelites*, and ל not [for me] but from my Riches, that the Sense of the former Branch should be, I bind myself fast by the Vow *Corban* that I will receive no Gain from the Riches of *Israelites* [to wit resolving their Riches to me as *Corban*, by how much he, &c.] of the more backward, I vow that I will profit *Israelites* by nothing which is in my Power [resolving my Riches to them like *Corban*] and it is plain the same Force is of that Particle in the other Vows conceived by a like Form which all abroad there come towards. He may add whom it pleaseth from Ch. 11. §. 3. **קונס שאני נהנה לנריות** whereby the following shew, she hath bound herself fast she should not take Profit from any Mortal, which teach nevertheless that she could **לייהנות כלקח ושבח הופאה** enjoy the Benefit of leaving to the Poor, by the Command of God, Gleanings of Corn, Handfuls, and Corners in Fields, therefore the Signification of that Form to have been, not that she will be profitable to no Man, but will take Profit from none. Wherefore if we would make this Form to agree with the Words of the Evangelist, it will not be to be said **קרבן שאני נהנה**

נְהַנָּה לְךָ for that would be ; let that be *Corban* by which I should be helped by thee, and who had vowed so אָסָר בְּהָמָת had been bound fast by a Vow lest he should take some Advantage from Parents. But the Person changed קְרָבָן שָׁתָּה [which the very self-same Words unless because for קְרָבָן its Substitute קְוָנָת of the same Tract Chap. 8. §. 7. come towards] let that be *Corban* by which thou mightest be profited by me, by which Means Parents were [or whosoever he had spoken to] אָסָרִין בָּנו [exclude from Hope of all Offices which they could expect from him, and certainly this Manner or Fashion is more agreeable to those which now in the *Misnaic* Text are found. But yet we have put on that other, by which the Word is construed with מִן [which also the most learned Man *Job. Cocchius* used] because it may be seen more by little and little to express the Words of our Saviour : Nothing in the mean time of Difference is in the Sense, and the Reader may use his own Judgment. But from Digression I must return into the Way. If this ungodly Word had rashly escaped ἐγνώσθιστον, a Close of Teeth of some one, they suffered him not, as bound fast by a Bond of a solemn Vow, upon any colourable Excuse to do him a good Turn, unless before released by them from it, whom he had forbidden to take Profit from him, to wit lest he should be guilty of a violated Vow ; not that by this Means he consecrated either absolutely or under Condition, any Part of his Wealth to God, or shewed it a good while since consecrated, but yet which Opinion, induced into an Error not a few out of Expounders of a better Note, [if I may tell by Leave of great Men] and rendered obscure

scure a Place by itself clear enough. The Writings of the *Hebrews* teach wholly the contrary [to which themselves confess in pluck up or out the peculiar Sense of this Place we must run back]. The Thing by an Example, fetched out of the very Text of the *Talmud*, may become clearer. A certain ungodly *Beth-Horonite* had a Father מודר **הימנו** **הנאה** forbidden from taking any Profit out of his Riches. When he desired his Father to be invited to a nuptial Feast, which he had furnished for his Son, nor howbeit himself quite released from his Vow, devised this Deceit, that he removed from himself to a certain Friend right of a Parlour or Dining-Room and Supper but so long until his Father should come, and sup together with them; which Deed they resolve wholly unlawful, unless by good Faith he had bestowed those Riches to a Friend, expressing no Condition of inviting his Father, whom by no Means he was bound to Profit. Hence in the mean time it is clear, by that Vow he had in no wise consecrated his Wealth to God, since he could give them to another by a Gift, that Right in the same be had in no wise lost, if he had furnished his Father with something out of them, but only had been made guilty of a violated Vow. Therefore in this Form of speaking *Corban*, or δῶρον a Gift bears no other Sway, than אשור *i. e.* quite and clean forbidden, an execrable Deed and unlawful, to wit let it be אשור בכרבן no less forbidden than to touch *Corban*. For they teach it concerns nothing in those Vows [which they call אסור *Asur* forbidden] whether they singly by the Word אשור *Asur*, are brought out denoting unlawful, or other of the same Sort, or if so that what otherwise lawful, should be resembled to something set apart from common

common Use, with this Condition only that that Thing should be such like which he could both lawfully consecrate, and the same not yet being consecrated lawfully use; like as some clean small Cattle, which to God he had Power of consecrating for an Oblation by the Vow שְׁקָדָם, [by which Name they call another Figure, Appearance of Vows] or of a Decreeing; since the Mention of a Thing out of a Purpose of the Law wholly forbidden, goeth not in the Form of expressing a Vow formally. For if some one said, Let this be to me Hog's Flesh, or as much unlawful as to eat Flesh of a Hog, he was bound by no Vow, but if, let this be to me *Corban*, a Holocaust, or Burnt-Sacrifice, which were out of Things lawful before Dedication, he deprived himself for the Time to come of the Power of the Thing which he would have resembled to them, and the same in that Respect, reduced into the same State with *Corban*, which it was an execrable Deed to convert to private Uses. This the Force and Reason of the Voice *Corban*, and like in conceiving Vows. Behold therefore the Tradition of them directly opposite to the Command of God. A Father, having fallen to Poverty, requests and desires earnestly Help of his Son. The Son answered, [ὅρκω τὸν αὐγριότητα πιστέμενος τῶν οὐθῶν confirming the Barbarity of his Manners by an Oath, as *Philo* speaks] he is hindered by a Vow by how much less he may perform this. The Father calls forth to the Command of God on all Sides fenced with Promises and Menaces, by which that Right is allowed to him in the Goods of his Son of which he ought to be divested by no Mortal. The Son opposeth the Tradition of wise Men [to whose Words more than to the Words of a Law we must attend] by which the same teach his Vow to be performed,

by

by the Neglect and Contempt either of this or other whatsoever Command, therefore they diligently command to take heed lest some Advantage should come to a Father out of his Goods. This is that which Christ upbraids them with, Καὶ ἐκ ἀφίεις αὐτῶν ἔδει ποιῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἢ τῷ μητρὶ αὐτῶν, Ἀκυρώσεις τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ τῇ παραδόσει ὑμῶν, ἢ παρὰ διοκατεῖ.

Hof. xiv. 2. **פְּרִים שְׁפְתִינִי** the Bull Calves of our Lips, the Apostle bearing Respect hither *Heb.* xiii. 15. and following the LXX hath *καρπὸν κειλέων*. They are thought to have read **פְּרִים** for **פְּרִים** But ask therefore else not *καρπὸς* here can bear the same Sway as *κάρπωμα* and *κάρπωσις* which by the LXX are used for Burnt-Sacrifice or Offering, which since for the most Part they are from Steers, therefore it is done, that **פְּרִים** hath been expressed by that Word, or at least for the same Reason may be expressed? If some one should ask a Reason why the LXX should call a Burnt-Sacrifice *κάρπωμα*, I have not in Readiness to tell. This in the mean time calls to Mind to me a certain Saying of the *Rabbins* by which they call some **הָעֲלוֹת קִין לְמִזְבֵּחַ** Burnt-Sacrifices *καρπὸν* or Summerly Fruits of the Altar. Which whether it can make to illustrate the Things we have said, let the Reader consider diligently. By how much the better he might do that, let him take the Reason of this Title in their Words. Therefore in *Mishnaioth*, or the *Talmudick Tract. Shekalim* c. 4. § 4. it is affirmed Increase and the Residue of a Separating of the Treasure, or of Shekels, or of Monies there laid up for the Use of the Temple, falls out **לְקִין הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** *Lekaitis Cammizbeak*, for Summerly Fruits to an Altar, &c. which *Maimonides*

וְקַיִן אָסֵם לְצִיָּף וְפְאַכָּה לְצִיָּף *hides explaining* עַנְיָן לְתִין וְלְעַנְבָּן לְתִי תְּנַשֵּׂר וְתִיבָּס וְאַכְלָהָא

אַלְנָאָס כְּתִיר זָאֵד עַלְיָ טְעַמְּהָבָס פְּתַסְמָאָת
אַקְרָבִין לְתִי תְּקָרְבָּן עַלְיָ נְבִי הַמּוּבָח וְאֵיד עַלְיָ

לְמַפְרוֹזָן קִיִּין הַמּוּבָח וְהֵי כְּלָהָא עֲלוֹת פְּחִוִּת
מֵאָתָסְמָעָן קִיִּין הַמּוּבָח אַנְמָא נְגָרָן אָן שְׁתִּרְיָ

בְּדָלָךְ נְמָאָל בְּהָאִמָּא וְתְּקָרְבָּן עֲלוֹת נְדָבָתָה וְהֵי

מִשְׁלָ צְבָור *Kaits* [saith he] is the Name of Summer-time; also of Fruits which expos'd 'ere made dry and by Men more often are eaten up as Surplusage of their Banquets [or for a Dessert.] Therefore Offerings which are offered upon the Altar above the Things written before by the Law, are called *Kaits*, i. e. Summerly Fruit of the Altar, and these all are Holocausts.

Wheresoever therefore thou shalt hear said קִיִּין Summerly Fruit of the Altar, the Sense is, Beasts are to be bought with that Money, which should be offered for Burnt-Sacrifices of a free Oblation: And they are out of those which are of the whole Flock. *R. Obadiab Mibbartenora* to the same Words *

בְּטָל מְבִיאָם מֵהָן עֲלוֹת כְּמוֹ שְׁדָרָךְ בְּנֵי אָרָם
לְהַעֲלוֹת מִינֵּי מַתִּיקָה עַל הַשְּׁלָחָן בְּגָמָר סְעוּדָתָם
כֶּךְ אַחֲר שְׁגָמָרוּ לְהַבְיאָה חֹנְכָת הַיּוֹחֶדֶם
עֲלוֹת חַלְלוּ כְּשָׁאֵן נְדָרִים וְנְדָבָתָה וְהַמּוּבָח בְּטָל

When the Altar is empty, they offer from those [to wit Residue or Remainder Monies] Holocausts, as it is the Custom with Men, to set on the Table various Dainties, a Feast being ended: So after that they have made an End of offering due Sacrifices of every Day they offer those Burnt-Sacrifices,

* *Pocock's Not. Misc. in Portam Mosis*, c. 4. p. 70, 71.

when

when there have not been Vows or Free Offerings, and the Altar is at leisure. *Maimonides* again in *Yad, Shekal. c. the last, § 9.* treating of the same Matter, says it is resolved by a Consistory, Council, of all those Residues שיקבו עלות בהנמה that for Holocausts should be offered out of Beasts, but not out of Fowls, since in Offerings of the whole Multitude Fowls have not Place, ואלו העלוות לא מזבח האין ממותד השקלים הם הנקראים כי and those Holocausts which are prepared out of the Residue of Shekels, are they which are called Summerly Fruits of the Altar. Which Exposition also *R. Tanckum* brings, and addeth ענדא מקצין את המופת ותקריבאה עלי אלמוּח קאל and when they have offered those upon the Altar, they are said to have set Fruits on an Altar. Moreover what are in the *Greek Epistle to the Hebrews* seem to be gathered from two Places of the Old Testament. The former is *Isa. lvii. 18, 19.* wherein one Verse a Word אשלם in the other is found. But it is to be noted, these of *Isaiah* are not assigned as touching Sense but as much as three Words only, to which, as I judge, the Divine Writer alludes, the more backward Place is *Hos. xiv. 3.* שמתינו ונשלמהפרים which the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* used, that, what in the Place of *Isaiah* were severed, he might couple. For he writeth, Let us offer the Sacrifice of Praise to God continually גשלקה that is, the Fruit of our Lips נשלקה there are who say, the Sacred Writer read at *Hosea* גשלקה פרים, not, פרים, or perhaps had a Book, in which פרי was seen, no פ being added. These are ingenuous Things; but that we should flee for Refuge hither, and molest the Integrity of the Text, no Necessity compels. *Edw. Pocock* thinks, καρπὸν in the *Greek Text* to be the same as ἀμπωμα and ἀρπωσις, which Words he says are used by the

LXX for Burnt-Sacrifice and Oblation, but those are violent and snatched hither with a wrested Neck. *Pocock* had ought to prove $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\mu$ and פְּרִים to have the same Signification*.

C H A P. II.

Of Gifts and Oblations.

THE Words translated into *English* from the Greek of *Irenæus* are as follow. Wherefore an Oblation of the Eucharist is not carnal but spiritual, and in this clean. For we offer to God Bread and a Cup of Blessing, giving Thanks to him, because he hath commanded the Earth to bring forth these Fruits for our Nourishment, and afterwards an Oblation being ended, we call upon him the Holy Spirit for Help, that he would present this Sacrifice and Bread the Body of Christ and a Cup the Blood of Christ, that, who receive these Antitypes, may purchase Remission of Sins and eternal Life. They therefore, who make these Oblations in a Remembrance of the Lord, certainly they approach not the Customs of the Jews, but spiritually sacrificing solemn Feasts will be called the Sons of Wisdom. Hitherto he had heaped up together more Words of spiritual Sacrifices and Oblations, and from these at last concludes an Oblation of the Eucharist, that is, of the Gifts of the Eucharist or outward Signs or Tokens, out of which it is provided, not carnal but spiritual.

Therefore the Oblation of the ancient Church according to *Irenæus* consisted first of all in an

* *Pfaffius* Not. in S. Irenæi Fragm. Anec. p. 119, 120.

outward Act of a Laying on, by which the holy Gifts were put upon the Altar, so that, who offered, laid down the Property and Sovereignty of them, and dedicated them to God. Secondly, In giving of Thanks, which also Christ did before the Eucharist, as one may see from the Words of Institution.

An Oblation being ended, these Words are worthy of a diligent Beholding, for $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ signifies to perfect, perform, to bring to an End, to accomplish. Hence one may conclude, it is another Action, which goes before the Consecration of the Eucharist, contrary, by which this is perfected. Therefore the former being finished, by which the Gifts set on the Altar by Prayers are offered to God, the more backward succeeds, by which the Eucharist is consecrated, no more in like Manner to be offered. But $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ signifies not only to perfect, perform, but to finish a holy Matter, so θυσίας τελέσαι by Appianus a Greek Historian of Alexandria is said. So Herodianus an Historian of Alexandria, who wrote eight Books of History from *Commodus* to *Gordianus* the younger. Πομπὴν μῆλοι θεῶν τελεύσι ρωμαῖοι. The Romans perform a Procession to the Mother of the Gods; who will may gather or heap up together Example from Lexicons. Hence $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ a Sacrifice, and other Sounds descending from that Original. With Dionysius this very Word $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ was familiar. For hence $\tau\alpha\varsigma\; i\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma\; \epsilon\nu\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\varsigma\; \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ to perform priestly Efficacies, $\tau\eta\eta\; \mu\iota\varsigma\iota\chi\eta\eta\; \tau\alpha\varsigma\; i\epsilon\pi\; \tilde{\omega}\nu\; \pi\iota\upsilon\psi\tilde{\omega}\nu\; \alpha\eta\alpha\tilde{\rho}\pi\eta\sigma\eta$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$, to perform the mystical, solemn Cry of the holy Folds. $\eta\eta\; i\epsilon\pi\alpha\eta\; \tau\alpha\varsigma\; \tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\; \mu\epsilon\nu\omega\eta\; \tilde{\theta}\epsilon\; \omega\pi\eta\; i\epsilon\pi\pi\eta\epsilon\eta$ with great Reverence to do Sacrifice of the most holy Things, canonizing of Men to become Gods, deifying, $\tau\alpha\varsigma\; i\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\varsigma\; \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ to perform finishings of a divine Matter, Operations, Sacrifices,

τα θεῖα τελέσαι καὶ δια δῖναι to fulfill and appoint holy Things. Παναγεῖσάτην ἵεραγύναν τελεῖν to perform most most holy finishing of a divine Thing; also divine Worship, Sacrifice. He told not only of an Oblation of the Eucharistical Gifts, of which almost nothing by him is seen, but also of Consecration and Distribution. But in whatsoever Manner the Voice τελέσαντες might be taken in *Irenaeus*, after Consecration no Oblation henceforth will follow; for put the Case, so it is to be turned, and afterwards performing or celebrating an Oblation, nothing other can henceforth be concluded, than Oblation by Consecration is perfected, or that Consecration is its especial Part, by which the Gift of the Eucharist by the Words of Consecration might be offered to God to be sanctified. To which Opinion I know not why to contradict or gainsay; since by that Way it may be said, the Protestants of the antient Church did not abrogate but hold again the Oblation of the Eucharist, those to wit, who by Prayers and Consecration finish the holy Worship of the Eucharist.

This Sacrifice.] The Voice Θυσίας here rejoiceth with an improper signifying, for there is nothing here which the Priest Θύω, *maicat*, slayeth, killeth, sacrificeth; it is taken therefore here for προσφορᾶ an Oblation or Gift offered to God. Excellently *Theophilus*, a Greek Historian; a Bishop of *Bulgaria*, in ch. viii. to *Hebr.* p. 9. 949. See *Pffaf.* p. 127.

John Hen. Suicer, in a Treasure Ecclesiastical, has brought together more words of the Fathers, looking upon the Voice Θυσίας, in the Word Θυσία, p. 1418. and follow, which I wonder, that which is especial, observed not. In the Liturgy of St. *Chrysostom* the Voice itself Θυσίας also is taken for Prayers, which are called Θυσία ἀνέσεως, a Sacrifice, an Offering, an Oblation of Praise, yet the Gifts

Gifts offered after the same Sort are called θυσίαι πνευματικά spiritual Sacrifice, to be offered for our Sins. Howbeit this is not yet what I meant to say. In the same Liturgy which is ascribed to *Chrysostom*, when in the first προσφορὰ Oblation, the Bread and Wine set on the Altar, a Sacrifice or rather a Figure of it is celebrated, a Deacon silently prompts to the Priest : θύσον δέσπολα, *Sacrifice, Sir* ; which being done, a Priest dividing cross-wise, and cutting or graving σουρὸν εἰ δῶς in the Manner of a Cross a Crumb of Bread lying negligently, says, Θύεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τῇ θεῷ, ὁ αἵρωντὴν αἴματά τε κόσμον, *The Lamb of God is sacrificed, which taketh away the Sins of the World.* Which represents faintly the Crucifixion of Christ, although *Baronius* derives this Ceremony of a cutting cross-wise from some other Person, to A LVIII. p. 64. following, who writes, The antient Gentiles by a cutting cross-wise in the Form of a Cross always cut or graved all Breads to be cooked or dressed. See the Euchalogramm of a Ceremony or Custom of *Jac. Goar*, p. 118. But it is to be noted, this θυσίαν, *Sacrifice, Offering, Oblation*, which we mention, goes very far before Consecration, and to belong to which they call the πρόθεσιν. Add the Apology of *Gabriel, Metropolitan of Philadelphia*, for the Eastern Church, published by *Richard Simon*, p. 5. where, a Priest takes the Bread, and holding it back signs or marks it with the Sign of the Life giving Cross upon the Top of the Seal, thrice saying, *In Remembrance of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ* : And so saying three times, he fixeth the sacred Spear on the Right Side of the Bread in which is the Seal ; and cutting it he saith, *As a Sheep be is brought to the Slaughter.* Then cutting it on the Left Side he saith, *As a Lamb without Spot before him who sheareth him is dumb, so be openeth*

not his Mouth. Then cutting it in the upper Part of the Seal, he saith, *In his Humiliation his Judgment is taken away.* Afterwards in the lower Part cutting again he saith, *And who shall declare his Generation?* Then taking up the Seal he saith, *For his Life is taken from the Earth;* and puts it into the sacred Dish. Prayers of Oblations follow.

And this is the Sacrifice of the *Grecians*, in any wise figurative and commemorative, yet the same did not obtain till the Time of *Irenæus*, who while that here he brings in Remembrance Θυσίαν, Sacrifice, Offering, Oblation, intimates an Oblation of Bread and Wine, as oftener we have said.

That the Apostles made new Constitutions about religious Customs, cannot be denied, if you consider attentively only one Word of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 34. *The rest will I set in order when I come.* Places may be added, in which the same Apostle distinguisheth his Opinion from the Ordinance of the Lord. 1 Cor. vii. 6. 10. 12. 25. whither perhaps the Traditions by Word be'ong, which are mentioned 2 Thess. ii. 15. Moreover to these διατάξεις δευτέρας τῶν τῶν Αποσόλων second Constitution of the Apostles our *Irenæus* refers the Oblation of the Eucharist, whose Words in our first Fragment are, οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν Αποσόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολοῦ Θυκότες ισασι. They who have understood the last Constitution of the Apostles know, that the Lord appointed a new Oblation in the New Testament, according to the Saying of the Prophet *Malach*, Τὸν κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐντὶ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεῖται κατάτο Μαλαχίᾳ τῇ προφήτῃ. Although we judge it not to have been ordained from the first by the Apostles in all Churches, yet we suppose it to have been made stable and steadfast in those which were collected out of the *Jews*, whose Customs the Apostles would retain for just so long Time, to wit, indifferent

indifferent and harmless, lest they should render their Minds contrary to the Christian Faith. See *Acts* xvi. 3. 8. xviii. 18. xxi. 23. and following *1 Cor.* ix. 20. 22. Apostolical Men afterwards followed this Custom of Oblation; so that by little and little it got up into an universal Custom of the Church. And the most famous Divine *John Gerard* confesseth altogether, in the primitive Church by Custom it was taken in use that the ancient Christians coming to the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, should put Bread and Wine on the holy Table and offer them to God, giving him Thanks for his Benefits; out of which a certain Part was consecrated in the Eucharist, and Prayer said over that Oblation for the gracious recovering of it. Dr. *Hicks* to prove this Oblation, begins with *Matt.* v. 23. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembereſt, &c.* He says rightly, $\delta\omega\gamma\sigma\omega$ here signifies an Oblation, as ch. viii. 4. xxiii. 18. but immediately thereupon, at the same Time, falls upon another Opinion, and addeth, Christ said these Things to his Disciples, and by Anticipation by the Name of $\delta\omega\pi\zeta$, an Oblation he understood the Oblation of the Eucharist. Brings many Examples afterwards of such-like Anticipations and Passages from the Fathers, which explain the quoted Text of the Eucharistical Oblation. To which that is the first which we bring or cast up again, Christ held this Discourse in the Mountain not only before his Disciples, but before the People also, that which is plain both from *Matt.* v. 1. and from *Matt.* viii. 28. Therefore most of all he said these Things to Jews, who did not yet believe in him.

The other Thing, which we return, is, Christ without doubt so spake to the People, that by them and his Disciples he might be understood; but the Sacrament of the Body of the Lord not being yet ordained,

ordained, it can scarce be understood, by what Way the People the Sense of those Things, which Christ had said, could conceive, if of the Oblation of the Eucharist they ought be explained; Christ speaks here of a Thing already known and received Worship, not of the Eucharist, which then was not yet ordained. Moreover without Necessity no Anticipation is ever to be supposed, at the least, that we may serve an Hypothesis. Neither can Anticipations of Sayings meeting within us elsewhere, be set up as an Argument of an Anticipation also in this Place.

That those are given perhaps there is none who can deny; so that most learned Men may surcease from that Labour.

Finally, from the Places of the Fathers no more can be concluded, than they, when they spake of Reconciliation as a Preparation to the holy Communion, alluded to that Saying of Christ, and applied to their own Uses that which he said of *Jewish* Oblations, and with so much greater Emphasis, Earnestness, because the Oblation of the Eucharist is more noble and holy than all the rest. Hence the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, L. ii. c. 53. explains this Place of all Prayers and Thanksgivings, when he says, $\Delta\omega\gamma\circ\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \dot{\epsilon}\varsigma\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \dot{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tilde{\gamma}\omega\ \pi\varrho\sigma\omega\chi\eta\ \chi\alpha\ \dot{\epsilon}\u03b5\chi\alpha\pi\iota\alpha$. But a Gift to God is every ones Prayer and Thanksgiving.

He proceeds to assign the Words of Institution, to demonstrate the Oblation of the Eucharist, where $\tau\alpha\tau\eta\ \pi\varrho\iota\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ meets with us, which he supposes to be translated *hoc offerte*, offer this. Here most largely altogether we grant a Word $\pi\varrho\iota\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\nu$, which learnedly by him is demonstrated, most of all according to the Greek manner of Writing, to signify *offerre* to offer, which since out of the Books of the Old Testament clearly it may be very plain, where the Greek

The same Things altogether are to be said of the Words of St. *Clement*. Epist. I. to the *Corinthians*, §. 40. They therefore who make their Offerings at the appointed Seasons, they are blessed and accepted. For excellently here $\piοι \tilde{\epsilon}ι\tilde{\eta}ες$ is rendered by *facientes*, making; nor do I see why offering an Oblation is to be said, for this sounds more hard. Moreover here the most holy *Clement* speaks of $\pi\tilde{ρ}\tilde{o}\tilde{s}\tilde{φ}\tilde{o}\tilde{ρ}\tilde{a}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{ω}\tilde{v} \lambda\tilde{a}\tilde{i}\tilde{u}\tilde{w}\tilde{v}$, Oblations of *Laicals*, which he would easily perceive, who will think with himself, *Clement* about the End of this Article repeats what aforetime he had said a little more tediously, and of the Chief Priest, the other Priests, *Levites* and *Laical*, the Offices so to distinguish, that to these in the foregoing Words nothing can be referred, save $\tau\tilde{o} \pi\tilde{a}\tilde{e}\tilde{i}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{s} \pi\tilde{ρ}\tilde{o}\tilde{s}\tilde{φ}\tilde{o}\tilde{ρ}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$, to make Oblations, which Oblations, if it is of the *Laical*, then also is not of a Priest. Nor are we to judge otherwise to be judged of the Word spoken out of *Justin M. Apol.* I., For when there is said, *Kai ευχαρισίαν ὑπέρ τούς καληξεθαί τέτων Παρ αὐτής ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται*, and he makes a Thanksgiving of an extraordinary Length, for vouchsafing us worthy of these his Creatures, altogether is to be translated “he gives Thanks,” not “he offers Thanks,” which is very improper. But if for the Word $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha \pi\tilde{ρ}\tilde{o}\tilde{s}\tilde{φ}\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{e}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{i} \tau\tilde{ω}\pi\tilde{ρ}\tilde{o}\tilde{s}\tilde{e}\tilde{w}\tilde{b}\tilde{i}$ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτῳ καὶ ποτήριον ὑδάτῳ καὶ κραμαρῷ, afterwards Bread and a Cup of Water and mixed Wine is brought to the President of the Brethren,

it had been said ἐπειτα ποιεῖται, afterwards is offered, then also most renowned *Hicks* had found what he desired. Yet as long as we say these Things, we deny not, the Verb ποιεῖν elsewhere by *Justin Martyr* by the *Latin offerre*, to offer, may be rendered, unless from the same Reason you will have it expounded by *conficere*, to finish, dispatch, explain, gather, provide, make, because it is contrariwise distinguished to τῷ τοροσ φέρεθαι, to be offered, in the Dialogue with *Trypho Jud.* p. 259. And in another Place of this Dialogue, p. 345. is said, εὐχαῖς ναὶ εὐχαριστίαις ποιεῖν, where it will be most fit, if you translate *facere*, to make.

From the Word Altar a third Argument *Hicks* brings down for the Oblation of the Eucharist. This *Paul* puts in *Cor. ix. 13.* where, they which wait at the Altar, are Partakers with the Altar. But, if we rightly place our Balot, here *Paul* speaks of the Priests of the Old Testament, and compares them with those that preach the Gospel, for this End, that as they were nourished with the Things offered, so are these for the Declaring of the Gospel to be nourished by those who hear the Gospel, he might demonstrate. And so the learned Man adds in another Place, which is *Heb. xiii. 10.* *We have an Altar, whereof they have no Right to eat which serve the Tabernacle, to wit, If in the New Testament there be an Altar, therefore also an Oblation.* This one Thing is to be proved, the Altar, of which *Paul* speaks, to be an Altar properly so called, rather I should have believed the Lord's Table here to be called an Altar, because it is compared with the Altars of the Old Testament, as a Type with its Antitype, a Copy like the Pattern; that is to say, this is the Mind of *Paul*; we permit not those to eat up of the Sacrament of the Body of our Lord, which we celebrate, who still solemnize

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the Jewish Rites and the ceremonial Law, and observe the Distinction of Meats according to ver. 9. But the Cause, why we do this, is this ; Because Christ having suffered without *Jerusalem* first filled up, so abrogated the Jewish Custom, according to which the Bodies of those Animals were burnt up without the camp, whose Blood was brought into the Sanctuary, Secondly by that reason intimated to us, that going out to him beyond the Gates, forsaking all Jewish Ceremonies, we should bear his Reproach, and own ourselves Followers of the crucified Jesus.

But that by Altar here a proper Altar is not understood from this appears, because ver. 9. the Rites of the Jewish ceremonial Law are rejected, because ver. 10. we are forbidden to serve the Tabernacle, because moreover according to ver. 13. we must go out of the Camp, where is no Altar, because finally those Oblations, which are made in the New Testament, are not save a Sacrifice of Praise or Fruit of the Lips, confessing to God and doing good or communicating, ver. 15. Finally, if Christ did not consecrate the Sacrament of his Body on an Altar, which all grant, either an Oblation can be made without an Altar, or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not an Oblation.

Κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχία τὰς προφητίας, according to that of *Malachi* the Prophet. This Saying is familiar with the Fathers, where they treat of the Oblation of the Eucharist ; clearly of all Oblations of Christians, First-fruits and Tythes it is explained in the Apostolical Constitutions, L. vii. C. 29, 30. For there a Command is known of a publick Assembly on the Lord's Day to be celebrated, published abroad, and of making a solemn Giving of Thanks, that your Sacrifice may be faultless and acceptable to

God, saying concerning his general Church, that in every Place Incense shall be offered unto me. Add L. vi. C. 23. But evidently *Justin Martyr* interprets that of the Eucharistical Oblation: From whence indeed concerning the Sacrifices offered then by you saith the Lord, as he spake before by *Malachi* one of the twelve, *I have no Pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and your Sacrifices I will not receive out of your Hands. For from the Rising of the Sun even unto the Going down of the same my Name is glorified among the Gentiles and in every Place Incense is offered unto my Name and a pure Offering. For my Name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord, but you prophane it.* But concerning the Sacrifices offered to him in every Place by us Gentiles, that is, of the Bread of the Eucharist and Cup likewise of the Eucharist, he spake before, saying, "that we glorify his Name, but you prophane it." In the Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew p. 260. already *Justin* had explained p. 246. the Place of *Malachi* of Gifts and Oblations of Christians, and repeats the same a little lower p. 344. again playing to or with the words of the Prophet: a pontifical and true Race of God we are, as even God himself witnesseth, saying, *That in every Place among the Gentiles we offer to him Sacrifices acceptable to him and pure.* But God accepts not Sacrifices from any one, unless by his Priests, which truly indeed he understands of Sacrifices, which Jesus Christ commanded to be made in the Eucharist of the Bread and the Cup. *Tertullian* goes in, enters upon another Way, who in the Book against the Jews explains the Place of *Malachi* of a speaking openly of the Apostles, which had to go out into all the World, and of spiritual Sacrifices of Praise. For he saith, that *not with earthly Sacrifices, but with spiritual we must appease God.* So we read,

as it is written, *A broken and a humbled Heart is a Sacrifice to God*. So elsewhere: *Sacrifice to God the Sacrifice of Praise*. So then spiritual Sacrifices of Praise are elected and a bruised Heart is demonstrated an acceptable Sacrifice to God. And so as carnal Sacrifices are understood disallowed, of which *Esaias* speaks, so spiritual Sacrifices are given out, received, as the Prophets bring News. But of spiritual Sacrifices he adds, saying, *And in every Place pure Sacrifices shall be offered in my Name, saith the Lord*. All which in the following *Tertullian* divides more largely Book III. against *Marcion*, the pure Offering of *Malachi* to him, to wit, is reporting of Glory, Blessing, and Praise, and Hymns: and Book IV. an honest Prayer from a pure Conscience. These Things as I observe, are clear and evident, and shew, that *Tertullian* explained the Place of *Malachi* of spiritual Sacrifices and which *Eusebius* did in an Evangelical Demonstration, Book I. c. 6. where he explains the pure Offering of Prayers and good Works and a contrite Spirit, that we may keep Silence other Fathers holding the same Opinion, whose Testimonies others have gathered or brought together. I know not therefore by what Way the Words of *Fuardentius* may be explained, that they may be freed from Falshood. Moreover this Place of the Prophet of the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist before *Irenæus* did *Clemens of Rome* interpret, *Martial*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Chrysostom*, *Austin*, *Eusebius*, *Damasenus*; yes and who gave not the Name to Christ, Rabbi *Samuel* of the true Messias to Rabbi *Isaac* Master of the Synagogue; that it is a more than *Jewish* Impiety to resist this Interpretation. For first of all those Fathers, whom we have assigned, and whose Words we have given, by no means affirm

affirm the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ to be made in the Eucharist, therefore neither the Place of *Malach* of that Sacrifice could they explain. Secondly, As we have seen here the Opinions of the Fathers are divers, wandering, since indeed the Apostolical Constitution of the Oblation of first Fruits and Tythes, *Justin Martyr* of an outward Oblation of Gifts to be consecrated, *Tertullian* of a giving out of a divine Word and Prayers affirm *Malachi* to speak. And so the Fathers are of a contrary Opinion in an explaining of this Saying, nor from their Consent, which herein is not given, can any Apostolical Tradition be formed. But yet that is not denied, that there are among the Jews, who explain the Place of *Malachi* of true and proper Sacrifices. And yet there are others who of a spiritual Sacrifice of Prayers had rather it should be interpreted. One like all let *Jonathan* be, the Son of *Uzziel*, who gives us this *Chaldean Version*, worthy, which here we should set by: *In every Time, wherein you shall do my Will, I will receive your Prayings and my Name shall be sanctified by you, and your Prayings shall be to me as a burnt Sacrifice pure before me, for my Name is great among the People, saith the Lord of Hosts.* Which since it is so, that also is to be noted, that *Malachi* evidently of a Sacrifice recited nothing, but spoke of *הנְזָבֵן* an Oblation, which from a Sacrifice very much differeth. But yet altogether we judge *Irenaeus* both in our Fragment, besides L. IV. c. xviii. §. 5. to expound this Saying of *Malach* of an outward Oblation of Bread and Wine to be consecrated into the Eucharist with Prayers joined together with itself, although §. 6. by Oblation he seemeth to understand nothing other than a glorifying of a divine Name and by Incense only the Prayer of the Saints. This one Thing we add, the holy Fathers in Excuse or

Plea

Plea of Sayings of the Scripture or Bible are not infallible, both as to Sense besides as to Words ; more often also they turn aside from the way the Sense to an Allegory, tie together marvellous Consequences, which it is not lawful to call back to a Trial. But the Words are more often run through, corrupted, contrary to Hebrew Truth, taken out of Apocryphals, not known in Canonicals.

Διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἥλιος.] So the Seventy Interpreters have. Yet a very little otherwise are put in the Dialogue with *Trypho*, p. 260. we have given the Words in the foregoing Note. But this Variety toucheth not us. The Hebrew Truth holds. Because from the *Rising of the Sun until its going down my Name is great in the Nations, and in every Place a perfuming is offered to my Name and a pure Offering, because my Name is great among the Nations, saith the Lord of Hosts*, Mal. i. 11. By these Words God makes the Jews more certain that he would refuse their Sacrifices, because from the *Rising of the Sun unto the going down his Name by the Nations should be glorified, who in every Place should offer a perfuming and a pure Offering.* A parallel Place is understood, ch. iii. ver. 3, 4. *That they may offer to God an Offering in Righteousness. Then shall the Offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the Days of old, and as in former Years.* In the former Place the Nations in the more backward Place the Jews are said to make an Oblation to the Lord in the New Testament.

Εἰστροφὴν ἡμεῖς ἔχων. For our Nourishment.] These Words found together with Book VIII. of the Apostolical Constitution, ch. 40. where we give Thanks to thee, O Lord Creator of all Things, Builder of all Things and Provider, for the first fruits offered to thee, not as we ought but as we are able . . . for which thou hast given . . . for a partaking, who hast

hast brought to an end all Things by thy Word, and commanded the Earth to bring forth Fruits of all Sorts, which is from the Soil or Floor for our Abundance and Nourishment and what follow. If the Apostolical Constitutions be provided out of the Doctrines of Apostolical Men, I judge these to be fetched from the Doctrine of *Irenæus*. Although Book VIII. of the Apostolical Constitutions may be said to render the Doctrine of *Hippolitus*, but, as the Learned know, most of all those, who have turned over the *Oxford* Book, there are in Book VIII. of the Apostolical Constitution which belong not to the Doctrine of *Hippolitus*.

Τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην. This Sacrifice.] The Word *θυσία* here rejoiceth with an improper Sign or Token; for there is nothing in the Sacrament, which the Priest *θύει, mæltet*, slayeth, sacrificeth. It is taken therefore here for Presents offered to God. Excellently *Theophilus* in chap. viii. to the *Hebrews*, p. 949. *Θυσίαι*, sacrificings, holy-days in which solemn Feasts are made, are Passages, Approaches by Blood and Flesh; or what is more exact, exquisite, all Things perfumed by Fire: for *θυσία*, stably, from *θύω*, to sacrifice to intreat by Sacrifice, which is from *θυμιάω*, to make sweet Smoke, to set on Fire precious Odours. The last are constrained, but shifted out of *Eustathius* and *Ammonius*, who observe *Homer* to distinguish *θύειν* and *σφαγεῖν*, to cut one's Throat, stab. For *Θυσίαι* is *Θυμιάσθας*, but *σφάζειν* to sacrifice murther some Animal *Ammonius* affirms. And so if *θυσία* is to be taken properly, in any wise hither it fall not out even; but if it be the same as *προσφορά*, an Oblation, Offering, it is cock sure. I know, indeed, the Holy Supper to be assigned by Ancients by the general Voice of *θυσία*. But for what Reason *Chrysostom* expounds Homil. XVII. in Epist. to *Hebr.* *μία ἐστίν η θυσία*.

S E C T. XXXI.

Our disputing now turns itself to the Apostolical Constitutions, which although at last in the Time of *Epiphanius* they have been reduced into that Form in which they are now beheld, but yet they contain chiefest and to be worshipped Ordinances or Constitutions of the primitive Church, and breathe that Majesty, which altogether agrees with the primitive Ages. For we doubt not they are collected from Writings of the most ancient Doctors of the Christian Church, especially we have the Greek and Æthiopic Church consenting, in which all know a great Price to have been put upon this Book, they chiefly, unto whom the most new Controversies of the *English* moved by a most famous Man *W. Whiston* are not wholly, directly unknown, both they call forth to those Constitutions, who are busy or earnest about to prove the Sacrifice of the Mass, which posseſſeth in the *Roman* Church, besides others also, who from Writings of Ancients, the Oblation of the Eucharist. But that we may proceed in Order, let us follow the Thread of the most learned *Zophyrinus*. He first of all assigns a Place known Book II. Ch. xxvii. But from this Place at least it lies open, Gifts to be consecrated to have been offered to the Bishop in the primitive Church not yet placed upon the Altar, and therefore, because by Laicals, of the common People for this End they were offered to him, they were called by Name προσφορα Oblations, Offerings, and θυσιας, Sacrificings, solemnities, which are in a divine Thing to be made, and Holydays in which solemn Feasts are made; which as how no body hitherto hath denied, unless wholly ignorant of sacred Antiquity, so I see not, by what Way from these the Sacrifice of the Mass can be

Y brought

brought down. For there are three Things well to be distinguis'd, and which we have not enough regarded our *Zephyrinus* to distinguish, an Oblation of the Gifts made to the Bishop, an Oblation of the same by the consecrating Priest before Consecration made, lastly an Oblation of Atonement or Reconciliation of the Body and Blood of Christ after Consecration performed. We think the last to have been altogether unknown to the antient Church, but the former a pretty while since we have believed can be proved from the Apostolical Constitutions. But yet a manner in the Apostolical Constitutions enjoined Book I. c. . not the Roman Church indeed holds henceforth [which in like Manner, that *Zephyrinus* should well note] truly which neither Eucharistical Gif.s, nor First-fruits commands to be brought to the Bishop for that End, that they should be sanctified by his Prayer, the second, which he produces, place, is of a higher diligent Search. For so he hath: But the Deacons after the Prayer, let them repose for the Offering of the Eucharist serving the Body of the Lord with Fear. Let others review the Multitudes and instill into them Silence: let the Deacon who stands near the chief Priest, say, *Let none have what against any, let none be in Hypocrisy.*

These Words our most learned *Zephyrinus* urgeth not sufficiently. For he saith, The Protestants understand these of the Administration and Partaking of the Eucharist, but here is intimated an Oblation properly so called. But the thing is cock sure, for neither, as now we said, do we deny that, antient Christians in Time past to have offered upon the Altar Gifts to be consecrated surely Bread and Wine to God the best and greatest with Prayers, although also this Custom in the first Ages every where was not received. But what is that to the

Sacrifice

Sacrifice of the Mass, in which the Body and Blood of Christ are offered? for neither in the Apost. Const. is said any where these to have been offered.

Moreover when they dispute concerning the proper Signification of the Word $\piροσφορά$ or $\Thetaυσία$, the thing returns to a mere contention in or about words, that which without Trouble we will demonstrate. For either an Oblation properly so called is that outward Action Treaty, Course, by which the Creatures given to us of God again we offer to him by our Prayers, laying down the Property of them, and consecrating them to God for that End, that he would vouchsafe to bless them and sanctify them to our Use; or Oblation will be a Ceremony, answering to the ceremonial Law of the Old Testament, whereby the Offerings are inflamed upon the Altar, and slain Sacrifices are burnt up or consumed, if you at least will name the more backward Custom an Oblation properly called, in any wise an Oblation of the Eucharist wonted by the Ancients neither by *Zephyrinus* himself will be called an Oblation properly so named, nor of all those, who defend the Decrees of the *Trent Council*, but if you will say an Oblation in the former Manner, also you will have us consenting *

Let us not strive about Words, it is a dishonest Thing, and in divine Matters to form to himself or themselves Shadows against which they should dispute after the usual Manner of a Fight between Combatants winking. That one thing remains to be added, $\Thetaυσίαν$ and $\piροσφοράν$ in like Manner in the Apostolical Constitutions and other Books of Ancients are said in an improper Sense; for so also Gifts were called, which were to be related, to be conveyed, conferred to the Bishop, not yet put upon the Altar, which both from numberless Places,

* *Pfaff.* p. 285.

besides from that which first of all we have brought, appears. For so in the Apostolical Constitutions Book II. ch. xxvii. Προσκει ἐν καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, τὰς θυσίας ὑμῶν ἥτοι ἀροσφορὰς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀροσφέρειν, It becometh you, Brethren, to bring your Sacrifices or *Oblations* to the Bishop.

But since the especial Difficulty, which might be urged, *Zephyrinus* toucheth not, we will propose it, that he may see, our Opinion uttered against the Sacrifice of the Mass not to flow from Prejudice, but from a sincere Mind and loving Truth. For in the Words *, which we have spoke, προσφορὰ seemeth to be called by Name the Body of our Lord, so much as θυσία seemeth not to go before Consecration, but to follow it, especially when an Oblation, no Prayer or Custom coming in between, presently succeeds Distribution. These things then also if they be not compared with other Places of the Apostolical Constitutions have not a little Shew, and may deceive those, who search not diligently the Opinion of the ancient Church exactly. We return, this Place, which retains, stops the Ceremonies of the Eucharist at least with cut short Terms, from Book VIII. ch. xii. to be explained, where not only the Oblation of the Eucharist is brought in Remembrance, but its Consecration, going after Oblation but going before Distribution. But Oblation and Consecration were joined together with so close a Knot, as joined together in one and the same Prayer, that in the Place which we unfold, Distribution presently may seem to follow after an Oblation, and almost the whole Worship of the Eucharist may be called by Name προσφορὰ an Oblation, also those Deacons may be laid to take Care to provide for the Body of the Lord,

* *Pfaff.* p. 286.

who are at leisure for an Oblation of the Eucharist.

But we observe first of all the Voice *προσφέρειν* to offer presently from the Beginning to be explained by to bring Giftsto the Bishop to the Altar*. Afterwards *Zephyrinus* disapproves a Note of *John Fell* Bishop of *Oxford*, who affirms, by oblations are understood also collations of clubs of Money every Lord's Day in an Assembly of Christians from the Command of *St. Paul* made for the Sake of the Poor. Lastly, we may draw an unfolding of the Word *προσφέρομεν* we offer from Chap. XIII. of the Apost. Const. for there what by that Sound was marked out, Ch. XII. is declared by *μνημονέειν* to keep in Memory, and *δεθῆναι* to beseech, and the Voice *προσφέρειν* he himself divers times in one and the same Page translates by *precari* to pray. The Bread and Wine mixed are called *Θυσία* and *προσφορὰ*; but neither so indeed what we ought have we yielded: for *προσφορὰ* itself also contained the Consecration of Ancients.

S E C T. XXIV.

Clement III. Bishop of *Rome*, a Hearer of *St. Peter*, in an Epistle to the *Corinthians*, calls the Bread and Wine before Consecration *δῶρα* and *προσφορὰ* and *λαταγίας*, *Gifts*, *Offerings*, and *Ministrations*. Seeing then these Things are very evident, it is our Duty who have looked into the Depths of divine Knowledge to do all Things in Order whatsoever our Lord hath commanded us to do, especially that we perform our Offerings and Ministrations to God at the Times appointed for them.

* See *Pfaff. De Oblat. Vet. Eucharist.* p. 285. the Greek, *προστάγειν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ Θυσιαστήριον*.

For these he hath commanded to be done, not hastily, indiscreetly and confusedly, but at certain Times and Hours, both where and by whom he would have them performed, he hath ordained by his sovereign Authority, that so all Things being done without Fault to all well-pleasing they may be acceptable to his Will. They therefore who make their Offerings at the appointed Seasons, they are blessed and accepted, for being obedient to the Orders of the Lord they offend not. For to the chief or principal President of Sacrifices the high Priest his proper Offices are given, and to the Priest his proper Place is commanded and on Levites proper Services are incumbent and a laical Man is given to laical Commands.

From these Words of *Clement* we form the following Axioms : I. Public Worship and Oblations ought to be done in a certain Time and Hours appointed. II. In like Manner in certain Places. III. And to be consecrated by certain Persons. IV. But yet neither can all these Things be performed in publick Worship by all, but here ought to be distinct Offices, as how in the Old Testament there were distinct Offices of the high Priest, also of the rest of the Priests, Levites, moreover and lastly of Laicals. These since from the Words of *Clement* of their own accord they flow, teach together the most holy Man not so much as thought of the Sacrifice of the Mass, when he wrote these Things. For here he speaks of Oblations, which in the primitive Church all offered, as many as were received into the Communion of the Church. These he saith are to be offered in a certain Time and at certain Places, and to be perfected by certain Persons, to wit the Priests and Ministers of the Church. If therefore the Ministers of the Church those

Things

Things, which were offered by the People, again offered to God, in like Manner they offered Bread and Wine and gave Thanks to God for these Gifts, and prayed, that he would vouchsafe to sanctify them to celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Body. This one Thing in these Words of St. *Clement* is difficult to be discerned plainly, that he avouches the Lord taught these Things, whose Command of Oblations to be offered and indeed in certain Time and certain Places no where is known in Books of the New Testament, although this be almost the common Tradition of Ancients. Howbeit afterwards the Church abolished it, neither the Church of *Rome* holds back this Manner of Offering.

Nothing therefore from the Words of *Clement* can be graved or carved out against Protestants, which cannot with the best Right be wrested aside. But *Clement* here pleads a command of the Lord for a very pious Purpose, whereby Ancients all Things which already in the Church they found resolved and settled, referred to a Command of the Lord. That which afterwards afforded Occasion to more Errors, to wit, that Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, in themselves indifferent and for Reason of Circumstances mutable, should be put in an Order of Articles of Faith, and a certain new ceremonial Law should be put on Christians, an Execration brandish against those who neglected it. Any one feeth, by this Error, Christian Liberty shaken, which *Paul* excellently expressed, when he wrote, *Let no Man therefore judge you in Meat or in Drink, or in respect of an Holy-day, or of the new Moon, or of Sabbath Days, which are Shadows of Things to come; but the Body is of Christ*, Coloss. ii. 16. following. The same Things almost elsewhere he hath spoken out. Hence are bred those unhappy Controversies of Christians

Christians which scattered the Body of the Church into Parts; hence a forged Controversy about the Passover, *Easter*, at last separated in the Council of the City *Nice* in *Bythynia*. *Irenæus* knew these Things, whose Words, which are excellent, above we have brought. Neither truly is the Worship of the New Testament bound unto any Place or Time, which both Christ himself and *Paul* intimates, *John* iv. 21. follow, *1 Tim.* ii. 8. But since without Order publick Worship cannot be, the Apostles themselves composed certain Ecclesiastical Constitutions, those divers and various, and for reason of Circumstances also to be varied. Hence St. *Paul* distinguished his Permission from a Command of the Lord, *1 Cor.* vi. 12, 25. For he would not cast a Snare on Men, ver. 35. lest he should destroy Christian Liberty, or Men should think Religion to consist in outward Worship. Howbeit this was a general Rule, which the Apostle laid down and to be observed by all out of the Law of Charity, *Let all Things be done decently and in Order*. What remains it is easy to pluck up or out from the Words of *Clement*, on what Occasion Oblations of Antients have been introduced into the Church. For the first Christians would preserve some Jewish Customs, considering that they were accustomed to them. Hence Oblations made, hence Ecclesiastical holy Government ordained near to a Pattern of *Jewish*, which about the End of this Paragraph *Clement* intimates, where he compares the Christian Priesthood with the Levitical. Neither yet that Opinion ought to stand in the Mind, that this Comparisom is in every Part exact, since ours also puts a High Priest Levites. *Paul* hath given a little divers Description of Christian holy Government, *1 Cor.* xii. 28. *Ephes.* iv. 11. which in like Manner we judge more accurate than the *Clementine*,

mentine howbeit may be compared what in the following *Clement* adds about sacred holy Government, where §. 41. he desires earnestly to prove from old Law, Divine Worship ought to be in a certain Place. But §. 42. he avoucheth, the Apostles pitched upon by Agreement Bishops and Deacons, which from *Iij. lx. 17.* he proves, where: by which Words altogether all other Things are expressed. Yet it is to be noted here, under the Name of Bishops also Presbyters come to *Clement*, whose Name was common, as from §. 44. also it lies open.

S E C T. XXVI.

It remains, that out of another Place of *Clement* pertaining hither we apply some Things, which in the same to the *Corinthians* is known §. XLIV. the Words are these: “ It would be no small Sin in us, if we should cast out those from the Episcopacy who without Blame and holily offer the Gifts, we judge Bread and Wine to happen here by the Name of $\delta\omega\rho\alpha$ Gifts. We plead only the Apostolical Constitution, which himself, *i. e.* *Zephyrinus* hath summoned, where in the Prayer of Consecrating, B. VIII. C. xii. Bread and Wine before Consecrating are called $\delta\omega\rho\alpha$ Gifts.” That which sufficeth us. But the Oblation made by the Bishop, the Prayer of Oblation interceding, which now above we have recited, is exactly to be distinguished from the Oblation of the common People, laical, which always we admonish, lest that, which is done by many, these two Oblations be confounded. For there are, who from an Oblation of the common People also strive to pluck up or out the Sacrifice of the Mass. But *Clement* seemeth to bind or strain hard an Oblation of the Eucharist to the alone

Office of the Bishop, which verily may be done, if, which now we have shewn, Bishops and ~~πατέρες~~ Elders by him walk, march, with even Pace or Step. Hence *Ignatius* to *Hiero* the Deacon §. 3.*

“ Do nothing without Bishops, for they are Priests, “ but thou a Deacon of Priest. They baptize, they “ frequent solemn Feasts, sacrifice, intreat by Sa- “ crifice [by which Name in any wise the Conse- “ cration of the Eucharist can be understood] they “ choose with a Hand stretched out at length, “ create by a Voice in giving Consent. Put on “ Hands. But you serve them as holy *Stephen* in “ *Jerusalem James* and the Elders.” These Words seem to teach, Bishops, Priests and Elders in Time past executed the same Offices and the same Authority. Howbeit elsewhere he disputes otherwise about this Argument, and distinguishes Bishops from Elders, and compares those with Christ, these with the Apostles; the Place is known in the 8th §. of the Epistle to the *Smyrneans*, where: “ All of you follow the Bishop Jesus Christ the Father, and an Order, Rank of Elders or Senators as Apostles. But have in Reverence Deacons, as the Command of God. Let none of those ascending, rising, getting up into the Church, do any thing without the Bishop. Let that Eucharist be supposed firm, that being under the Bishop, or to whom he gives Leave. For where the Bishop appears, there let the Multitude be, as where Jesus Christ is,

* I know the Epistle to *Hiero* the Deacon is referred, rendered among the supposititious, and supposed enrolled when the sixth Age was going forth, declining, yet *Whiston* has commended it, and the same thinks it to be natural Fruit of *Ignatius*, which we note, observe, mark by the by, the furbished Epistles of *Ignatius* for the peculiar, but boasts the smaller for the corrupted chiefly p. 2, 4, 99. following. Vol. 1. of *Primitive Christianity coming to Life again.*

there the Catholick Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop either to baptize, nor to make the *Agape* ancient Love-feasts, Feasts of Christians. For what he approves, that is well-pleasing to God, that all which is done may be safe from sliding and firm. Nothing here in anywise is said of Oblation or sacrificing, also Sacrifice to be offered by a Bishop, although here for the nonce *Ignatius* treats of the Administration of the Eucharist. An Interpolator, a Furbisher or Dresser of old Things saw that, and therefore after the Voice to baptize he added neither to offer nor to carry to, to bring a Sacrifice, which then also was done amiss. for neither are to be set or put in the Text of an Author, which proceed from another Hand and a Commentary or short Exposition written at the Margin, it is perfectly probable, this of which we speak, Custom of an Oblation in the Time of *Ignatius* into the Church of *Antioch*, of which he was a Prelate, not yet to have been introduced, nor in the foregoing §. VII. where in like Manner the Eucharist is treated of. So much as the Eucharist there is called a Donation, a Gift of God. But there the Real Presence is defended with most clear Words against Hereticks, concerning whom *Ignatius* : “ They abstain from the Eucharist and Prayer because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the Flesh of our Saviour Jesu Christ which suffered for our Sins, which the Father of his Goodness raised. With so great Zeal the most holy Father resisting against them, that he teacheth the Communion of them to be clearly escaped refused and avoided and shunned. I wonder *Edmund Albertinus*, a most learned Man, to impute this Opinion to *Ignatius*, that he resolves the Eucharist to be at least the Flesh of Christ figuratively, against those Hereticks, who quite denying the

Truth of the Flesh of Christ, denied also the Eucharist to be the Figure of the Flesh of Christ, because a Figure supposeth the Truth of the Thing figured. For so I suppose, Oracles of Ancients not to be misinterpreted to our Opinions, which we cherish about Religion, but freely we must confess, the not agreeing with us, if a Context and clear Words be present, to which nothing but what is twisted curled can be opposed. But by another Way *Albertinus* could loose this Knot, if he had set up, resolved, those smaller Epistles of *Ignatius*, drawn out of the Book *Medicæus*, not to be peculiar, but rather those larger, which hither were accounted for the furnished. This Opinion stands with *Whiston*, who that he might strengthen a new Opinion, also useth that Argument fetched from the Words of *Ignatius*, those Things which *Ignatius* here saith, with the Age, in which he lived, agreeth not. For there Hereticks were not admitted to the Eucharist. But *Ignatius* neither says nor supposeth this, nor if he did suppose it, did he say that, which did not agree with his Times. For Hereticks not yet declared nor openly known, yet lived in a Communion of the Church, and therefore lay lurking or hidden, within its Precincts or Territories, that they might seduce others. So in the Time of *Paul* lived in Communion of the Church of *Corinth**, who denied the Resurrection. 1 Cor. xv. 12. 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. In the Church of *Galatia* they were, who said the ceremonial Law of the Jews is to be kept by Christians. Gal. i. following. Add *Act*s xx. 29. 1 Cor. ii. 19. *Pbil.* iii. 2. *Col.* ii. 20. following. &c.

But rather *Hen. Dodwell* resolved, in Age I. no Schism to have been made, but Hereticks at last in Age II. departed from the Church, though hi-

* *Pfaff.* p. 264.

thereto

thereto tolerated in it. And also ensuing Times teach, Hereticks mixed or blended together with orthodox held the same Communion. Also *Leo II.* himself reports, the *Manichees* in his Time received the Eucharist in the Church, but disparaged the Lord's Blood. *Serm. IV. of Lent. Cap. v.* Now no body will deny, Hereticks not yet notorious, made plain in the Time of *Leo* also in the Church to have been tolerated. But he would be Sport for the Learned, who would say, This Place therefore is to be crossed out from the Writings of *Leo*. But it may suffice for us, *Ignatius* says not those Things, which *Whiston* imputes to him. For that the holy Man would say, There are Hereticks, who certainly wholly celebrated no Eucharist, and abstained from those Prayers, by which the Sacrament of the Lord's Body could be provided, because they denied and could not understand the Eucharist to be the Flesh of a Saviour. If *Ignatius* says these Things, truly he hints not, those Hereticks lived in a Communion of the Church. But who those antient Hereticks were, is not clear. Moreover in this *Whiston* mistaketh, when he faith, the Words of *Ignatius* favoureth or tasteth of Transubstantiation, since they intimate only Real Presence, well to be distinguished from Transubstantiation. To wit *Whiston* once had conceived in his Mind, to put into the dressed-up Epistles of *Ignatius* in the natural Epistles Room, to serve a Supposition. Hence he snatches away every Occasion, that he might prove the Truth of his Opinion, also he lies instantly upon the said Words. Yet I see what for an Oblation of the Eucharist from *Ignatius* can be drawn together. This Place a little otherwise *Theodore* relates, *Dial. III.* where they receive not the Eucharist and Oblations, for they abstain from the Eucharist and Prayer. But

it is evident, *Theodoret* puts on these Words perversly, though *Cotelerius* in Notes approve them; for the more backward Reading agrees more than the former, since it cannot be concluded Oblations and Eucharists in Time past made by Hereticks and not to have been received by them.

But to return to the Three-fold Oblation.

The First is the Oblation of Bread and Wine, which the Faithful offered in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist*, and the Author below-mentioned proves that the Action of the faithful People offering the Bread and Wine for the Divine Service thereof, was called an Oblation and Sacrifice, to which belongs their being again offered unto God by Prayers and Thanksgivings at the very Time the Elements were set upon the Altar or Holy Table, to be blessed and consecrated by the Priest or Bishop, where he confounds the two Oblations, which yet are made by others entirely distinct.

The same may be seen in the 25th Homily of St. *Chrysostom* on St. *Mattew*.

The Word *προσφέρειν*, in the 8th Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, Cap. 12. from the Beginning, is interpreted by *προσάγειν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, “ to bring the Gifts to the “ Altar to the Bishop.”

2dly, After a long Prayer, followeth a Recitation of the Words of Institution, an Oblation of the Gifts, and Consecration, by which *τὰ δῶρα τὰ προκείμενα*, the Gifts lying in open View, are consecrated, yet it is no where said the Body and Blood of Christ, *προσφέρειν*, are offered. This is the Oblation of the same Oblation unto God at the very Instant of Time in which they are consecrated, both of which in the Liturgy of St. *James* Men-

* See Dr. *Covel's* Account of the present *Greek Church*, p. 70. *Pfaff.* 329, 330.

tion is made, in which the Words of the Second Oblation are as follow;

Μεμνυέσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς, &c.

Wherefore we Sinners, being mindful of his Life-giving Suffering, of his saving Cross, his Death and Burial, of his Resurrection from the Dead the third Day, of his Ascension into the Heavens, and of his Session at thy Right Hand O God and Father, and of his second glorious and terrible Appearance, when he shall come with Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead, when he shall render to every one according to his Works, we offer unto O Lord thee this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice.

In the Canon of the Roman Church long before the Prayer of Consecration, we have the following Prayer.

Te clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus, ut accepta habeas ac benedicas haec dona, haec munera.

“ We humbly beseech thee, O most merciful Father, by Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord that thou wouldest receive and bless these Gifts, these Presents.”

This therefore must belong to the First Oblation.

Some Authors have supposed the First Oblation to begin at the Table of Proposition, or By-altar, when the Oblations were brought by the People, and recommended to God by the Priest in the Prayer of Proposition.

Secondly, The Second at the Holy Table or Altar, after the *μεγάλη εἰσοδός*, or great Entrance, when the Gifts are brought in Procession, according to St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, from the Table of Proposition, to the Holy Table or Altar, beginning with the Words, “ O Lord God, the Crea-

“ tor

“ tor of all Things, who only art holy; who receivest the Sacrifice of Praise, &c.”

The Third at the Words $\tau\alpha\ \sigma\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\omega\ \sigma\alpha\ \pi\kappa\phi\varphi\omega\mu\epsilon\iota$, “ We offer to thee thine out of thine own.” This was the Account of the *Latin* [as *Arcudius* and *Goar* and others] in reckoning up the Three Oblations, according to whose Consecration these last Words are not spoke until the Consecration be ended, though the *Greeks* place them before the Prayer, by which they esteem the Consecration to be made.

Thirdly, Others suppose the First to begin at the Holy Altar, where the Gifts are offered by the People, and again offered by the officiating Minister, with Forms peculiar to each. The Second they supposed to be at the Time of Consecration, at the Words, “ We offer to thee our King and our God,” as in most of the *Greek* Liturgies. The Third after Consecration, where God is beseeched to command these Gifts to be carried by the Hands of his Holy Angels into his sublime Altar.

The Reason of which Difference can be ascribed to nothing else, but to the Difference of Rites and Ceremonies, Pomps and Novelties in Religion, which obtained in different Churches, and which might well be retained, or omitted at Pleasure. For it having been anciently practised in the Church for the Laity to bring their Gifts for themselves, and absent Friends, living or dead, and to offer them at the Altar with a certain Form of Words, of which Mention is made in several Missals, and as this was delivered down by Tradition, and founded upon no Scripture Authority, so it was afterwards abrogated. Here the People not only offered Bread and Wine, but several other Things, and this made the First Oblation at that time; and that was nothing

thing else but that external Offering, whereby the Symbols were placed upon the Altar with Prayers, whereby God was beseeched to sanctify them.

But afterwards, the former, *i. e.* the Lay Oblation, having been abrogated, the Sacerdotal Oblation was called the First, and the Consecration the Second, those Prayers which immediately followed the Words of Institution. Now it may be evinced with the most irrefragable Reasons, that whatever notions the ancient Fathers might entertain for above 600 Years concerning the Sacrifice, or Oblation of the Eucharist, it will be very plain that they thought not of the Sacrifice of the Mass, nor was it ever mentioned until the 7th Century; nor are any of the Greek Liturgies, or the *Roman Canon* itself, or any other of the Liturgies, whether the *Mosorrbic* *i. e.* *Spanish* or *Galican* Missals, in any Parts of them in the least favourable to this Notion, whatever might be taking from them as seeming favourable to the other, *i. e.* of a material Sacrifice which is little more than a *λογομαχία*, “a Strife about Words;” and this will appear by considering the Nature of the Three-fold or Two-fold Oblation aforesaid.

During the two first Centuries, never any Mention was made of any Oblation, but either that of the Laity in bringing their * Gifts and Offerings to the Altar or Table of the Lord, or of the Bishop in offering the same to God; and these were, as was before observed, Rites not used in every Church, nor essential to the Eucharist, but what might be retained or abolished at Pleasure.

For tho' St. *Ignatius* A. D. 107, by granted labour treats of the Eucharist, he mentions nothing of an Oblation or the Action itself of sacrificing to be

* By these are understood Loaves, which were brought by the People and called Oblations. This Custom is observed in the present Greek Church. See *Covel's Account of it.*

offered by the Bishop, and it is altogether probable, this of which we speak, Custom of an Oblation in the Time of *Ignatius* into the Church of *Antioch*, of which he was a Prelate, not yet to have been introduced.

Origen, A. D. 240. likewise mentions the offering First-fruits; his Words are, $\omega\delta\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\pi\omega\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, “To whom we offer First-fruits.” And likewise of the Bread being made a Body by Prayer, *Orig. Cont. Cels.* p. 399, 400. *Justin Martyr** mentions both these Rites, so that it is an Unhappiness in some learned Men, who have condemned ours or any other Church, for the want of such Rites as are apparently indifferent, and may be retained or omitted, as Times and other Circumstances allow.

But after the third Century several of the Fathers mention the Offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, as St. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, “the chief Oblation then and that which is essential to the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, according to *Cyrillus* ought to be called a consecrating, dedicating, which is called an unbloody Worship, changing the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, so that a Sacrifice perfected by that Consecration may be $\theta\omega\sigma\epsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\sigma\mu\chi\alpha$, a Sacrifice of Atonement or Reconciliation, after Consecration also to be offered for others.” He flourished, A. D. 348. and St. *Cyprian*, A. D. 250. says, *Sacrificium patri obtulit, & obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedeck obtulerat*, i. e. *panem & vinum, suum scilicet, corpus & sanguinem*: “He offered a Sacrifice to his Father, the same “which *Melchisedeck* offered, i. e. Bread and Wine “to wit, his own Body and Blood.” As if he had said, Who was more a Priest of the most high

* *Ep. ad. Smyrnaeos*, §. 7, 8.

God as *Melchisedeck* was in his blessing *Abraham*, than our Lord Jesus Christ in offering up his own Body and Blood to his Father; and he brought forth likewise the same to feed the Sons of *Abraham* with, which *Melchisedeck* did to feed *Abraham* himself and his Fellow Soldiers, to wit, Bread and Wine, his own typical Body and Blood. Herein they differ from other of the Fathers, yet they are not much out of the Way. Nor do they speak in Favour of the Sacrifice of the Mass, if we apply to them what St. *Austin* said of St. *Chrysostom*, Lib. I. *Cont. Jul.* Chap. vi. *Vobis nondum litigandibus, securius loquebatur*: “As you were not yet engaged in Disputes, he spoke more securely.” I return to the *Latin* Liturgies, in which the customary Style is to pray before Consecration, *Ut dona oblata sacrificentur*, i. e. “That the Gifts offered may be sanctified.” *Haec oblatio quam offerimus pro reatibus & facinoribus nostris*, “This Oblation which we offer for our Guiltiness and heinous Crimes.” *Offerimus tibi Domine calicem hanc oblationem, pacatus admitte*: “We offer to thee O Lord this Cup, receive, O Lord calmed this Oblation.” *Offero Deo Domino oblationem sacerdotes nostri*, i. e. “Our Priests offer to thee, O Lord, this Oblation.” In the Consecration Prayer: *Sanctifica hanc oblationem*: “Sanctify this Oblation.” *Sanctificans haec qua tibi offerimus*: “Sanctifying the Things which we offer to thee.” At putting the Offerings into the Hands of the Bishop: *Offerro hostiam pro remissione peccatorum meorum*. “I offer a Host for the Remission of my Sins.” The Bishop says, *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem*. “Receive, Holy Trinity, this Oblation.” At the Consecration: *Sanctifica, Domine, hanc oblationem, ut nobis unigeniti filii corpus fiat*. “Sanctify, O Lord, this Oblation, that it

“ may be to us the Body of thine only begotten Son.” Here we have the several Forms made use of by the Laity, and by the Bishop or Priest, in offering those Gifts to God, before, or at the Time of Consecration, according to the *Latin Liturgies*.

The following are the Forms according to the Greek Liturgies likewise. In that Liturgy ascribed to St. *Mark*, though it be none of his, the Second Oblation begins with the Words following :

Τὸν Θάνατον, δεσμῶτα κύωτε παῖσιν πατράτορες ἐπερράνει βασιλεῦ, τῷ μονογενεῖ Χριστῷ, περί τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆροῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες, καὶ τὴν τειχιμέριν καὶ μη καρίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες, καὶ τὴν εἰς ζραντὸς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν Χριστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδραν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ φρικήν καὶ φοβερὰν αὐτῷ παρουσιαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἐν ᾧ μελλει ἕρχε σθαὶ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρὲς ἐν διναιστύνη, καὶ παραδέναι, &c. Σοὶ, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν ὀδών ἀροεῖθίκαμεν ἐνώπιόν Χριστοῦ. Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλεῖσθαι, φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὑψοῦ τῷ ἀγίᾳ Χριστῷ, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων αὐτὸν τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα, &c.

“ We, shewing forth therefore, O Lord Almighty, Heavenly King, the Death of thine only begotten Son our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing his blessed Resurrection from the Dead on the third Day, his Ascension into Heaven, and his Session at the Right Hand of thee his God and Father; and also looking for his second terrible and dreadful Appearance, when he shall come in Righteousness to judge the Quick and Dead, and to render to every Man according to his Works, O Lord God, have set before thee thine own, out of thine own Gifts.”

Here is an Oblation which precedes Consecration, and this nothing but an Offering the Gifts of Bread and Wine to be consecrated, for the Consecration follows in these Words : “ We pray and “ beseech thee, O thou lover of Mankind, to send “ down from thy holy Heaven, the Habitation of “ thy Dwelling, from thine infinite Bosom, the “ Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy one, “ the Lord, the Giver of Life, who spake in the “ Law, in the Prophets, and in the Apostles. — “ Send down thine Holy Spirit upon us, &c.” The same Thing may be observed in the other Liturgies likewise, as may be seen in the VIth Chapter following, where they are set down. According to the latter Opinion before mentioned, in the Liturgy of St. James, we have a very distinct and particular Mention of the Three-fold Oblation. For the First, after some good People have brought their Gifts, and offered them for their Friends, living or dead, at the Time when the Elements are set upon the Table to be blessed and consecrated, the Priest taking in his Hands the Elements, then laying them upon the Table, which is the First Oblation at the Prothesis, according to the Greeks, as we have it in St. Chrysostom’s Liturgy, though in this, it be at the Holy Table, or Altar. Afterwards, he makes the following Prayer: it is in Goar’s *Euchologion*, p. 36. and in St. Basil’s Liturgy, p. 58. and is called the Prayer of Proposition; the Words are as follow :

Ο Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν, ἐράνιον ἄγλον τὸν τροφὴν τῆς παιδὸς κόσμῳ τὸν Κύριον ὑμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησὸν Χριστὸν ἔχαποσελας σωτῆρα καὶ λυτρωτὴν καὶ ἐυεργέτην, ἐυλογεῖτα καὶ αγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς, ἀυτὸς ἐυλόγησον καὶ τὸν πρὸθεσμὸν ταῦτην καὶ πρόσεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἐπεράνιον σε θυσιαστῶν. Μημόνευσον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τῶν προσενεγκάντων καὶ δι’ ἧς προστίγαγον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατανείτες διαφύ-

διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ ἔεργειᾳ τῶν θείων σε μυηρίων. ὅτι
προσκατανατοντος καὶ δεδοχατος τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνους
σε, παῖδος καὶ τὸ οὐρανόν καὶ τὸ ἀγία πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ^Θ
καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων.

“ O God, our God, who hast sent the Bread of
“ Life from Heaven the Nourishment of the whole
“ World our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour our
“ Propitiator our Redeemer, to bless and sanctify
“ us; bless this Gift or Proposition and receive it
“ upon thy heavenly Altar. Remember as being
“ good and a Lover of Men those who have of-
“ fered and those for whom they have offered, and
“ preserve us guiltless in the Ministry of thy holy
“ Mysteries, for thy most sacred and venerable
“ Name is sanctified and glorified, O Father now
“ and for ever from Ages to Ages.”

Thus far is only the Preparation of the Elements, in order to the following Sacrament. But in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, and in Gabriel Severus's Apology, *pro Eccl. Ori.* it is postponed, until after the piercing of the several Portions at the Prothesis.

This Prayer in this Liturgy, exactly agrees with the Prayer, which, in the Liturgy of St Basil, is called *Eυχὴ τῆς προθέσεως*, “ The Oration of the Proposition”; and likewise with that in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, so called likewise. And it is to be distinguished from the following thus, That it was said before the Dismission of the Catechumens, and is by some called the First Oblation, although others suppose the First Oblation to begin at the following Prayer, not made until the Gifts are placed upon the holy Table, or Altar, to be consecrated, and ca'led, *Ευχὴ πρωτοκομίας*, “ Prayer of Oblation;” which then follows likewise in the same Liturgy, before the Prayer of Consecration, and is as follows:

Ναὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἵπιβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, &c.

What

What Dr. *Covel* hath said may serve a little to the clearing this Difficulty; when speaking of the Prayer of Proposition, he says,

“ When the Prayer was first penned, it was used “ after the placing of the Offering of the Bread “ and Wine upon the Table; but after all that “ long Trumpery, about making and placing the “ several Portions was invented, in following and “ much later Times, it was at last postponed, and “ thrust in here, so far off from the setting on of “ the Oblation, to which it refers.” So that by supposing the Gifts to receive their first Sanctification, at the Priests making this Prayer, whether at the Table of Proposition or Altar, we shall find no other than a spiritual Sanctification, or Change intended in any of them. For, in all that is said by the Priest at the Prothesis, at their mystical Tragedy, the Words of the Prayer of Proposition, which is but a Continuance of the same Oblation, shews the whole to have been no other.

According to this true primitive Doctrine of the Ancients, the Moderns have likewise taught the two First Oblations, in particular Bishop *Patrick*, who in the 75th Page of his *Christian Sacrifice*, observes from a Passage in *Irenæus*, Lib. IV. Cap. 34. “ That the Bread and Wine were first “ sanctified, by being offered to God with Thanks- “ givings, and presented to him with due Acknow- “ ledgments, that he was the Lord and Giver of “ all Things, and that they were not common “ Bread and Wine which the ancient Christians “ prayed might become the Body and Blood of “ Christ.” As for the other, *i. e.* the First Oblation, *i. e.* whereby the Gifts were first sanctified, continues he, p. 76. “ The sanctifying the Bread “ and Wine, by offering them to God, and pre- “ senting them with due Acknowledgments, &c.”

That

That also is to be understood, when you see the Bread and Wine set upon God's Table, by him that ministers in this divine Service. Then it is offered to God; for whatsoever is solemnly placed there, becomes by that means, a thing dedicated and appropriated unto him. Again, says he; " And accordingly all that are there present, when they behold the Priest thus preparing the Bread and Wine for Consecration to an higher Mystery, &c." In which last Words that learned Prelate plainly hinted at the Second Oblation, at the Time of Consecration. And in the following Words, he plainly declares the Duty of the People, in regard to the former Oblation before the Consecration Prayer. " And accordingly all that are there present, when they behold the Priest thus preparing the Bread and Wine for Consecration to an higher Mystery, should secretly lift up their Souls to God in hearty Thanksgivings, and offer him the Sacrifice of Praise, for these and all other such Benefits, desiring him to accept these Gifts as a small Token of their grateful Sense that they hold all they have, of him as the great Lord of the World."

And so we are taught to do in that Prayer which immediately follows in our Liturgy. So that indeed there seems to be a Two-fold Kind of Consecration, and Consecration Prayer:

First, A consecrating the Elements to the Service of God, by placing them upon the Table or Altar, which sanctifieth the Gift.

Secondly, A Consecration whereby they were made the representative Symbols of the Body of Christ, and of his Blood shed.

And in the *Greek* Liturgies, the Prayer for the common Peace of the Church, for Kings and Emperors, was placed after both these, at appears by St. Cyril

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, or more likely his Successor, Author of the V. *Catecheses Mystagogicae*, who in the last of them hath the following Passage, Μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν, τὴν ἀναίματον λατρείαν. “ After the finishing the spiritual Sacrifice, the unbloody Service.” By which unbloody Service and spiritual Sacrifice must be understood that Oblation at the Time of Consecration *, or the Consecration itself, which may be called an Oblation to be offered up afterwards for the Necessities of the Church, as in the Prayer following :

Ἐπὶ τῆς Θυσίας ἔκεινης τῇ ἵλασμῇ παρακαλέμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐιρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῇ κόσμῳ ἐνστάθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων.

“ Over this Sacrifice of Propitiation we beseech God for the common Peace of the Churches, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings.”

Which is much like our Prayer for the Church militant used by our Church before Consecration.

Mr. Mead understood both these Oblations, when he said, p. 376. “ Though we do not make such an Oblation, with a set Ceremony and Form of Words, yet in Deed and Effect we do it, so often as we set the Bread and Wine on the holy Table, for whatsoever we set upon God’s Table, is, *ipso facto*, offered, and dedicated to him, according to that of our Saviour, *Matt. xxiii. 19.* Τὸ Θυσιαστήριον αἴγαζε τὸ δῶρον. The Altar sanctifieth the Gift.”

After the Prayer of Consecration, followed in the Liturgy of St. James, and in several other Liturgies, a Prayer for all Places enlightened with the Knowledge of Christ, for the Apostolical Catholic Church, for all holy Fathers and Brethren, and the Bishops who rightly divide the Word ; for

* See Pfaff. p. 327. Dr. Waterland’s Rev. p. 405.

for all who are at Sea, in a Journey, or in a Prison, Captivity, or in any Affliction; for those who are sick, or troubled with unclean Spirits; for the Temperature of the Air, seasonable Showers, and wholesome Dews, and for the Conveniency of the Harvest; for thy Goodness crowning the Year. And St. Cyril, or the Author before-mentioned, agrees with St. Cyprian, who calls this Sacrament, *The Sacrifice of the Passion*. The Sacrifice which we offer, saith he, *Is the Passion*; because it is the Memorial of the true propitiatory Sacrifice, i.e. the Death of our Lord; where they mean no more than that which I have already observed, to wit, that at the Third Oblation the Elements have received a Change from what they were, being now from Bread and Wine, consecrated and sanctified to be the Sacraments of Christ's Body and Blood*. Therefore the Author says, Προσφέρομεν Χριστὸν ἐσφαγμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων. " We offer Christ slain for our Offences." Eusebius observes the same thing practised in his Time, *De Vita Conſt.* Lib. IV. Cap. 45. Θυτὰς ἀναμάντας καὶ μυστικὰς ἱερεγίας, τὸ Θεῖον ἰλάσκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐιρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκλλεσίας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέως τοσύτων ἀλίσ, ταίδων ἀντεθεοφιλῶν, ἵκειντιας ἐνχάς τῷ θεῷ προσαναφέροντες. " In the unbloody Sacrifices and mystical Divine Worship, they pacified, prevailed by Intreaty the Deity, Godhead, for the common Peace, for the Church, and for the King the Author of so many Benefits, and for his People, Friends of God, they offer over and above Prayers, humbly praying to God, fit for an humble Request."

Bishop Patrick, in the Second Part of his *Christian Sacrifice*, p. 75, 76. argues, " That the Prayer

* Where we pray not only that the Elements may be sanctified, but also that we may be sanctified by them, which have received before a Two-fold Sanctification.

“ for the Church militant, is the same with that
 “ which the Ancients used when the Bread and
 “ Wine were sanctified, by being offered to God
 “ with Thanksgiving, and presented to him with
 “ due Acknowledgments; and which we ought to
 “ use when we desire God to accept those Gifts,
 “ as a small Token of our grateful Sense, that we
 “ hold all we have of him, as the great Lord of
 “ the World.”

There is indeed before the Consecration, in the *Clementine*, and other Liturgies of the Ancients, a long Prayer of Thanksgiving to God, with an Enumeration of his wonderful Works. For, in the *Prayer Books of Edw. VI.* there is Mention made of two Memorials, in these Words, “ With these Holy
 “ Gifts the Memorial which thy Son Jesus Christ
 “ hath willed us to offer, having in Remembrance
 “ his blessed Passion, &c.” Whereas in ours there
 is no Mention made of any Memorial, but that for
 the Benefits of the Passion. The Third Oblation
 is in the *Roman Missal*, and other Liturgies, where
 they pray that the Gifts might be carried by the
 Holy Angels, upon thy High Altar, in the Pre-
 sence of thy Divine Majesty. *Offerimus praeclarae
 majestati tuae de tuis donis, ac datis, hostiam puram,
 hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanc-
 tam vitae aeternae, & calicem salutis perpetuae, super
 quae, propitio & sereno vultu respicere digneris, & ac-
 cepta habere sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri
 tui justi Abel, & sacrificium Patriarchae nostrae Abra-
 hae, & quod tibi obtulit summis sacerdos tuus Mel-
 chisedeck, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.*
 “ We offer unto thy glorious Majesty of thine own
 “ Gifts and Presents, he joins his Hands, and signs
 “ thrice over the Host and Cup together, a pure
 “ + Host, an Holy + Host, an immaculate +
 “ Host; he signs over the Host, and once over

“ the Cup ; the Holy + Bread of eternal Life
“ and the Cup of everlasting Salvation.”

Extending his Hands, he proceeds :

“ Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene Countenance, and accept them
“ as thou wert pleased graciously to accept the
“ Gifts of thy righteous Servant *Abel*, the Sacri-
“ fice of our Patriarch *Abraham*, and the Holy
“ Sacrifice the immaculate Host, which thy High
“ Priest *Melchisedeck* offered to thee.”

But here it is to be observed, that this Oblation is not made unto God, until after the Consecration be ended, which they supposed to consist in the Words of Institution. For, indeed they have struck out of the Canon of the Mass the Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost, which should follow it, yet have added what is equivalent thereto ; to wit, the Words following, “ Which Oblation do
“ thou, O God, we beseech thee, vouchsafe to
“ render in all Respects, blessed, approved, effec-
“ tual, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be
“ made * unto us, the Body and Blood of thy
“ most beloved Son.”

Likewise the primitive Fathers make frequent Mention some of three, others of two Oblations in the Holy Eucharist, One before the Consecration, to wit, an Oblation of the Gifts and Fruits of the Earth ; and the Second, that which was after Consecration, or rather at the very Time of it. Of the former, *Irenæus* speaks, Lib. IV. Cap. 32. *Advers. Hæref. Novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab apostolis accipiens in universo mundo, offert Deo, ei qui filimenta nobis præstat, primitias suo-*

* Where these Words unto us signify, that those Elements are not in themselves, but are so in Virtue and Effect to worthy Receivers.

rum munerum in novo testamento. “ Taught a New
 “ Oblation of the New Testament, which the
 “ Church receiving from the Apostles through the
 “ whole World, offers to God, who gives us our
 “ Nourishment, which are the First Fruits of his
 “ Gifts in the New Testament.” But, although,
 according to the Manner of the Greeks, this be an
 Oblation before the Consecration, yet, according
 to the Canon of the Mass, p. 285, in the *Latin*
 Church it was the Third. For, after the Priest
 hath made an Offering to God, as in the afore-
 going Prayer, of the Gifts, then laying his Hand
 upon the Altar, he prays to God that those Gifts
 might be carried by the Hands of the holy Angels
 upon his sublime Altar. A little after he says unto
 God, *Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona
 creas. + Signat ter super hostiam et calicem, dicens,
 + sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et praestas no-
 bis.* “ By whom, O Lord, thou doest always
 “ create these good Things. He signs thrice over
 “ the Cup together, saying, Thou dost sanctify,
 “ quicken, bless, and bestow them upon us.” And
 in a Gothic Missal, published by *Mabillon*, after the
 Consecration, are the following Words: *Suscipe
 munera, quæsumus, Domine, quæ tibi de tua largitate
 deferimus, ut hæc sacrosancta mysteria, gratiæ tuæ
 operante virtute, præsentis vitæ nos conversatione sanc-
 tificant.* “ Receive the Gifts, we beseech thee, O
 “ Lord, which we offer to thee from thy Bounty,
 “ that these holy Mysteries, by the operating Vir-
 “ tue of thy Grace, may sanctify us in our Con-
 “ versation in the present Life.” Where still the
 Continuance of the same spiritual Sacrifice is in-
 tended by the Compiler of the Missal.

Secondly, The Second is by the same Father called,
 * *Ecclesiæ oblatio*, “ The Oblation of the Church,”
 * *Irenæus*, Lib. IV. Cap. 34. + *Dial.* with *Tryph.* p. 259, 260.

Or

or the Church's representing the same Gift to God, by the Ministration of the Priest or Bishop. *Justin Martyr* likewise agrees with *Irenaeus* in this Particular, where he makes distinct Mention of these two Kinds of Oblations †. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταντὶ τόπῳ προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τατέσι τῇ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐν χαρισίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ποτερίᾳ ὁμοίως τῆς ἐυχαρισίᾳ. “Concerning the Sacrifices which are in every Place offered unto him, that is the Bread of the Eucharist, and the Cup likewise of the Eucharist;” by which he means, the Lay Oblations brought to be consecrated.

To the same Purpose is that Passage in his First Apology, p. 97. Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῷ τῷ αἰελφῶν ἀρτῷ καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατῳ καὶ κράματῳ, καὶ ἄτῳ λαβὼν αἴνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ, &c. “Then is brought unto him that presides over the Brethren Bread and a Cup of Water and Mixture, which he taking, renders Praise, and Glory to God.” — Ἀρτῷ προσφέρεται, καὶ ὄντῳ καὶ ὕδῳ, καὶ ὁ προεστὸς ἐυχὰς ὁμοίως. “Bread is offered, and Wine, and Water; and he who presides sends up Prayers likewise.” First, in those ancient Times, the Elements were understood to be offered to God, to agnize him as the Creator of the World, by offering the First Fruits of the Earth unto him, in regard to which, Mr. *Pfaffius* observes upon the Words of *Irenaeus*: *Offerimus enim ei, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes dominationi ejus, et sanctificantes Creaturam.* “We offer to him, not as though he wanted any thing, but as giving Thanks to his Majesty, and sanctifying the Creature.” He observes, I say, *Patet igit, oblationem in gratiarum actione, & sanctificatione considerare.* “It is plain from hence, that the Oblation consists in Thanksgiving, and in sanctifying the Creature.” These were the First, and the most

most antient Oblations, and which were in Use in the Times of *Justin* and *Irenaeus*, and after.

But after the Elapse of the Third Century, some of the Fathers considering that Change that was superinduced upon the Elements after their Consecration, called in this respect, the Eucharistical Elements, a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine, as A. D. 248. St. *Cyprian* in particular, “ Our Lord and “ God was the Author, and Institutor of this Sa-“ crifice, *Ep. 63.*” Sometimes again, the Sacri-
fice meaning thereby the Sacrament of his Body and Blood. Again; *Qui sacrificium Deo patri ob-
tulit, et obtulit hoc Idem quod Melchisedeck obtule-
lerat, id est, panem et vinum, suum scilicet, corpus et
sanguinem.* “ He offered a Sacrifice to God his “ Father, the same which *Melchisedeck* offered, that “ is Bread and Wine, to wit, his own Body and “ Blood.”

Fulgentius who flourished, A. D. 525. in his Book *De Fide et Pet.* Cap. 19. speaks to the same Purpose: *Sacrificium panis et vini in fide, et cha-
ritate, sancta ecclesia Catholica, per universum orbem
terrae, offerre non cessat. In isto autem sacrificio,
gratiarum actio, atque commemoratione est carnis Christi.* “ The Holy Catholic Church throughout the “ World ceases not to offer the Sacrifice of Bread “ and Wine, in Faith and Charity. But in this “ Sacrifice, there is giving of Thanks, and a Com-“ memoration of the Flesh of Christ.”

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the OBLATION, of the Sacrament of the LORD'S SUPPER.

I shall now examine more particularly the Ac-
count which *Arcadius* and *Goar* give us of these
Three Oblations. They both maintained, that the
First Oblation was *ἐπ τῷ προθέσι*, “ at the Prothesis,

or

“ or By-altar,” in the Preface of the Liturgy, when the Bread or Host to be consecrated is separated from other Bread before the Mass begins; when an imperfect Offertory is celebrated, or in the Vestry, where the Priest puts on his Vestments, and prepares the Bread and Wine for the Eucharist, when it is first dedicated to a Divine Use, and called, *προσφορὰ*, “ an Offering or Oblation.”

Secondly, The Second is when the Bread is brought from the Table of Proposition to the Great-altar, and by a Prayer said for the Gifts, the Offertory is completed, or in the *Missa Fidelium*, the Title of the Prayer which was said upon this Occasion, is, *Εὐχὴ προσδοχῆς μελά τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῶν θίαν δώρων αὐτόθεσιν*, “ A Prayer of Oblation after the Deposition of the Divine Gifts, upon the Holy Table,” or *Εὐχὴ πισῶν πρώτη*, “ The first Prayer of the Faithful;” in which are the Words, *ποίσον ἡμᾶς αἵτις γενέσθι προσφέρειν*. “ Make us worthy to offer, &c.” *Gabriel Severus*, another Transubstantiator, agreed with them both in this Particular; who tells us, That the *Οὐτός γανὸς αἴρει καὶ οἶνος τρεῖς λαμβάνει καὶ κέιται τιμᾶς*. *Τὴν μὲν ἔχει φυσικῶς, τὴν καὶ λαμβάνει μετοικῶς*. *Gear, Euchol. Græc. p. 133, 139. Arcudius de Consensu Ecclesiae Orient, & Occid. L. III. C. 6. p. 26.* *δὲ ἐισδύεται πνεύματι ἀγίῳ μετεστιασκιῶς*. “ Bread and Wine take and possess Three Honours, the First they have naturally, the Second they have by Participation, and the Third they put on by Transubstantiation by the Holy Spirit.” According to the First Honour, he says, “ It is not sanctified, but honoured as a Creature of God,” according to Gen. i. 31. *And God saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* For it is common, both to good and bad Men. In the Second, at the Table of Proposition, it is in some Sense

Sense sanctified, and made fit and proper for the Third and most perfect Oblation, and set apart from other Bread. And in the Third and last, saith he, “ it is transubstantiated,” using the Word μεταστάσις. To return to *Arcadius*, or *Goar*, who professes himself of his Opinion; at their First Oblation, Christ’s Portion is pierced with a sacred Lance; and according to their mystical Tragedy, Christ is slain; *i. e.* sacrificed; where one would imagine, that once for all were enough; yet this they call an imperfect Oblation, tending only to the principal Oblation of all. The Second they likewise call, only a Disposition of another much more noble and true Oblation; which *Arcadius* calls a Sacrifice of Praise, citing the Liturgical Words, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶντα μνάμεν^{ται}, ὁ μόν^{ται} ἅγιος, ὁ ἀριστερόμεν^{ται} Θυσίαν αἰνέστεως, &c. “ O! omnipotent God, “ who only art holy, who receivest the Sacrifice of “ Praise, &c.” Although the Consecration, say they, may in some Sense be called an Oblation; for he who puts the Host upon the Altar, and sacrificeth it, which is done by Consecration, (which they had neither of them proved) may be said to sacrifice it. Their Third Oblation is after the Consecration is compleated, when the Elements are now no more Bread and Wine; but the Body and Blood of Christ are offered, as represented under the Species of Bread and Wine. To this, he, *i. e.* *Arcadius*, refers the words in the *Clementine Liturgy*, ἔτι προσφέρομεν; “ we farther offer;” and in this the Priest speaks not only ἐκφώνως, but μεγαλοφώνως; “ not “ only high, but with a mighty Voice;” for, saith *Goar*, applying the Words of *St. Cyprian*, on this Occasion, *Ep. 63. p. 107.* the Effect of this last Oblation in the Priest is, that *moestum pectus-- quod prius peccatis angentibus premebatur, divinae indulgentiae laetitia resolvatur*. “ His sorrowful Breast which

" was before weighed down with tormenting Er-
 " rors, may be loosed with the Joy of the Divine
 " Indulgence." In the First Oblation with *Goar*,
 p. 133. approving what *Arcudius* had said, *αγιάζε-*
σθο λέγομεν τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον. We say the Bread
 and Wine are sanctified; that those Things are which
 are separated, to the Use of God; in the Second,
 that the Priest prayeth with a Mind conscious of
 its own Integrity, *ιδάνωσον ἡμᾶς τὴν προσέρευν*; "make
 " us fit to offer;" and soon after, *αξίωσον τὸν προ-*
ενεχθῆναι σοὶ νῶν ἐμοὺς ἀμαρτιῶλας καὶ ἀναξίας δέλες (z.)
 " Think me worthy to offer to thee who am a
 " Sinner, and thy unworthy Servant." But at the
 Third and last, the Priest lays aside his sorrowful
 Mind, and says (in offering up a Sacrifice more
 excellent than the two former) *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σι*
προσφέρομεν. " We offer unto thee thine of thine."
 And now let us observe however, how both of them
 hook in their Transubstantiation. *In sacrificio nec*
nudus, &c. saith *Goar*, p. 139. (That is which he
 supposeth to be made at the Words, *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν*
σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν. " We offer unto thee thine own
 " out of thine own Gifts") " In the Sacrifice
 " neither bare Bread, nor the Body of Christ,
 " simply speaking, but Bread truly consecrated,
 " and the Body of Christ covered with the Spe-
 " cies of Bread, is sacrificed as the Sacrifice of
 " the whole World." How is it now sacrificed?
 There is not one Word of it here or in the Words
 of Consecration; at the Prothesis indeed, there is
 a great deal of Stuff to that Purpose; but he had
 forgot what he had freely said in expounding the
 Word Euchologion, where speaking of several Sorts
 of Prayer, he hath these Words, *Est quoque aliud*
orationis genus, " There is also another kind of
 " Prayer, by which we implore God not only as
 " a Benefactor, but also offer unto him his of his,
 " or

“ or we depute a Creature to his Worship, and
 “ make ourselves at length holy, or, think to re-
 “ ceive or derive Divine Holiness from him. This
 “ happens, either when we return Thanks for Bene-
 “ fits, when we dedicate Vessels, Altars, Temples,
 “ the Matter of the Elements of the Sacrament.
 “ We desire they may be made the Promptuaries or
 “ Storehouses of Grace ; and lastly, we think to
 “ render ourselves more holy by any Means, yet
 “ by the Help of Prayer being added, and so a
 “ Creature deputed not for the Use of Man alone,
 “ but chiefly for the Service of God is sanctified
 “ by the Word of God and Prayer.” Here he
 gives a truer Account of this Saying, “ We offer
 “ unto thee thine of thine, *i. e.* We depute these
 “ Creatures of thine, *i. e.* Bread and Wine to thy
 “ Worship ; and we pray that by thy Holy Spirit
 “ they may be made Promptuaries or Storehouses
 “ Grace, and that by partaking of them, we may
 “ be rendered more holy thereby ; therefore, they
 “ are the same Gifts still, *i. e.* mere Creatures.”

Next *Arcudias, de Sacr. Eucb.* Lib. iii. p. 219. in
 order to warp the Words to his Meaning, says,
 “ The Sense of the Words, thine of thine, is, of
 “ thy Creatures, to wit, of Bread and Wine we
 “ offer thee thine, *i. e.* thy Christ.” It is said thine
 “ in the plural Number, by reason of the sacra-
 “ mental Species of Bread and Wine ; for what
 “ is so proper to the Father as the Son ? because
 the Father hath given him unto us, even out of the
 Sacrament, according to *Isaiah*, chap. ix. *Unto us a
 Son is given.* And *John* iii. called $\tauίμια δῶρα$;
 “ therefore the Gifts or precious Gifts,” and $\alphaνιδω-
 ρον$, “ a Recompence or Requital ;” for Christ
 out of his abundant Charity, having bestowed upon
 us innumerable Gifts, at last he himself passed into a
 Gift : Therefore we justly say, *Tὰ σὰ’ν τῶν σῶν ῥεοσ-
 φέρομεν,*

φέρομεν, “ We offer to thee of thine;” that is, thy Son given to us in Sacrifice, we again offer to thee in Sacrifice; and this both he and *Goar* say, is signified not only by Words and Affections, but likewise by the Gestures of the Priest in the Eastern Church: to which may be answered as was above to *Goar*, that it cannot be proved that Christ is offered in the Mass, the Elements being still called God’s Creatures and Gifts, upon which he is afterwards desired to send down his Holy Spirit. Neither is there any Mention in the Scripture, that Christ at the Institution of his last Supper offered his real Body; so that here he merely begs the Question. I shall therefore now offer a clear Exposition of the Phrase, from the Words of the Reverend Dr. *Covel*, in his Account of the Greek Church, which are as follows: This I fancy, *Tua ex tuis*, “ Thine of thine,” was taken up and inserted in *Justinian’s* Time, who having edified the Cupelo of *St. Sophia*, and made a new holy Table under it, with Gold Silver, precious Stones, and all other Metals of immense Value, wrote round about the Side of it, “ Thy Servants, O Christ, “ *Justinian* and *Theodore*, offer unto thee, thine of “ thine, &c.” — But if this Phrase was before in the Liturgy, *Justinian’s* Inscription fairly interprets it; viz. that these Elements are not after Consecration Christ’s Body and Blood, but mere Bread and Wine, Creatures of God, as *Justinian’s* Gold, and Silver, and Jewels, were; and were, as his, offered unto him again. And the Words here following, offering to thee thine of thine, *καὶ πάντα καὶ πάντα*, “ in all Things, and for all Things,” must signify that all Things whatever we offer to God, are his Creatures, or Gifts or from him, and for all Things and Purposes, for which he hath ordered them to be; and therefore, here Thine of thine are plainly the

the same with what *Irenaeus* saith, Lib. IV. Cap. xxxii. p. 355. *Novi Testamenti Novam*, &c. And the Prayer here immediately following *Thine of Thine* in the Liturgy of St. *Chrysostom*, yet evinces this Sense more clearly; for having offered these material Oblations of Bread and Wine, they offer next a rational and unbloody Worship. However, *Ar-
cudius* and *Goar*, still persist in applying the Words last mentioned, to the Sacrifice of the Mass; for, saith the former, these Words, ἔτι ᾧροσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν τάστην καὶ ἀναίματον λατρείαν. “ We far-
ther offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody
Worship, and beg, pray, and beseech thee to
send down thine Holy Spirit upon us, and upon
these Gifts, &c.” Make this Point more clear,
and we offer that reasonable and unbloody *Obse-
quium*, which he renders *Sacrificium*, “ a Sacrifice,”
that is, according to him, Christ himself there pre-
sent, under the Species of Bread and Wine; which
is offered for many Benefits, as is plain by the
Words, ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ᾧροσφέρομεν, even according to the
Greeks; as these Words succeed those Prayers which
they look upon to be consecratory; as therefore
they are said for smaller Benefits, by the *Greeks*, af-
ter their Consecration Prayers, for which they then
offer, why should they not be understood in this
Sense, immediately here, after the Words of Insti-
tution, and those other, *Thine of Thine*? This is
the Sum of his Argument, to which I shall an-
swer; That by λατρεία here in the Liturgy of St.
Chrysostom he understood not, τὰ ᾧροκέμενα δῶρα,
“ the Gifts lying in open View;” and, He distin-
guishes them from the other. And *Chytraeus* in-
terprets the Words only of Prayers, Lauds, Thank-
givings and Alms.

Secondly, The Word ᾧροσφέρειν, “ we offer,” in
the Liturgy of St. *Clement*, in the Apostolical Con-
stitutions,

stitutions, is thrice mentioned ; *First*, For all Saints who have pleased God from the Beginning of the World ; the Patriarchs, Prophets, Righteous Men, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Sub-Deacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, &c. *Secondly*, for this People, that for the Glory of thy Christ, thou wilt render them a Royal Priesthood, for the Widows of the Church, for those that live in honourable Marriage, the Young-ones. *Thirdly*, For seasonable Weather, that we may have Plenty of the Fruits of the Earth, for all those who are absent upon a just Cause, &c. What by *προσφέρομεν* should be understood, from the Context we are to judge, where in a Place of *προσφέρομεν* are seen *δεόμεθα*, *oramus*, we pray thee, *παρακαλομεν*, *rogamus*, we desire thee, *αξιόμεν*, we think thee worthy, *dignus cencere*, for the King, for Catechumens, for the City, and for the Sick, so that no more can be understood by offering thee, than by praying for the Blessing of God, for those Benefits there mentioned through the Name of Christ, there present in his representative Symbols : why should we pray for the King, for Catechumens, the City, and for the Sick ; and not for Patriarchs, Prophets, Martyrs, and Confessors, temperate Air, and Fruiteness of the Earth. So we may justly assert, that by the Words *ἐπι προσφέρομεν*, is meant no more than that we still pray, with more Eagerness and Fervency, striving and struggling in Prayer. We have likewise in the *Greek Liturgies*, and in the *Latin Canon of the Mass*, as before observed, these Words, “ Let us farther pray to God through his Christ, in behalf of the Gift that is now offered to the Lord God, that the good God will receive it through the Mediation of his Christ at his heavenly Altar, for a sweet smelling Savour.” In the Canon of the Mass ; the Words with those

going

going before, after the Consecration, are, *Offerimus praeclare majestati tuae, de tuis donis, ac dates. — supra quae, propitio ac sereno vultu respiscere digneris, & accepta habere & supplices te rogamus, jube haec preferri per manus S. Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae majestatis tuae.* The Body and Blood of Christ cannot be called $\delta\omega\varphi\alpha$, Gifts, nor should God be desired to look with a propitious and serene Countenance upon his only begotten Son. The making of such a Request, can be no more than Impiety and the highest Presumption; for he always looks with a propitious Eye upon the Son of his Love. Since Christ his own Body and Blood, which neither can be called Gifts, cannot be said to conduct quite through into his heavenly Altar, as he is always supposed to be sitting at the Right Hand of the Majesty on high, we may reasonably suppose that the Compilers both of the *Latin* and *Greek* Liturgies could intend no more by these Words, than to request that the spiritual Service and Worship then offered might be accepted with God, as the Incense, in St. *Chrysostom's* Liturgy as an Odour of Sweetness. *Goar* p. 139. mentions it as the Opinion of *Melanchton*, that by these Words we are to understand only Prayers, and the Praises of God, which are very different from a bloody Oblation; and which are offered to God only by our Reason and Understanding. All this we offer according to the Direction of the Apostle St. *Paul*, *Rom. xii. 1.* And thus he answers it, the principle Part, saith he, of divine Worship, is an external Sacrifice, to be performed with an humble Mind and Reflection, and this Sacrifice must be the very Body of Christ, the Lord slain on the Altar of the Cross, for the Salvation of Man. But this was done by himself once, and cannot be done again by us, neither can it be proved to have ever been done

done by *Latins* or *Greeks*, so that here he, as well as *Arcudius* before begs the Question. And as he goes on, consecrated on the Altar by an unbloody Way which is offered in Memory of his Passion, if he had proved that Christ's Body and Blood are here consecrated, *i. e.* really made and offered upon their Altars, he had done his busines: *Covel's Account of the Greek Church*, p. 42. Certainly the favourable Countenance of God cannot here be prayed for upon the Priest, or Communicant as some would imagine among them, and instead of *supra quae*, insert *supra quos*, for the Relative *quae*, must certainly respect the Gifts in the *Dona ac Data* before-mentioned.

Gabriel Archbishop of Philadelphia in his *Apology for the Oriental Churches*, published by *Richard Symon*, placeth three Honours, which he calls them, as given to Eucharistical Elements, in the *Liturgies of the Ancients*; the first Honour they obtain, as of the Number of God's Creatures, *Gen. i. 31*. The second at the Table of Proposition, where the Priest * taking the sacred Bread signs it with the Sign of the Life-giving Croſs upon the Top of the Seal saying three times, “In “ Remembrance of our Lord and God and Sa-“ viour Jesus Christ.” And in so saying he three times fixeth the sacred Spear on the right Side of the Right Hand Part of the Bread, in which is the Seal Signet, and cutting it he says, “ As a Sheep he was “ brought to the Slaughter.” Then cutting it on the Left Hand Part he says, “ As a Lamb without “ Spot before him who sheareth him is dumb, so “ he openeth not his mouth.” Then cutting it in the upper Part of the Seal he saith, “ In his Hu-“ miliation his Judgment is taken away.” Then

* *Pfaff.* p. 129, 130.

cutting it in the under Part he saith again, “ But “ who shall declare his Generation ? ” Then taking up the Seal he saith, “ For his Life is taken from “ the Earth ; ” and putteth it in the sacred Dish. Then follow the Oblatory Prayers, after this figurative commemorative Sacrifice ; yet the same did not possest in the Time of *Irenaeus*, who while he mentions θυσία, a sacrificing, the Action it self of sacrificing, or a Solemnity in making a Divine Thing, and Holy-days in which solemn Feasts are made, hints an Oblation of Bread and Wine, when the Gifts are placed upon the Altar or Table to be consecrated, there is afterwards a second, then a third Oblation in these words, or to the like Purpose : “ We beseech “ thee, Almighty God, that thou wilt command “ that these Gifts be carried by the Hands of thy “ holy Angel into thy sublime Altar ; or let us yet “ again beseech God, through his Christ, for the “ Gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the “ good God would yet receive it, as a sweet smel- “ ling Savour unto his heavenly Altar.” These same oblatory Prayers are used in the Liturgy of St. *Chrysostom*, twice before the *Canon Missæ*, once at the offering of the Incense, Θυμίαμά σοι ἀρσεφέ-
ρουεν Χριστός ο Θεός ὁσμὴν ἐνθίας πνευματικῆς, ἢν ἀρέσθε-
ξαι, δέσποιντας εἰς τὸ ἄγιον καὶ ὑπερεγράντον καὶ νερόν σε
θυσιασήσιον. “ We offer to thee Incense, O Christ, “ our Lord.” And another Time, when the Deacon placeth the Gifts upon the Altar, at the *oratio propositionis*, Αὐτὸς ἐνλόγησον τὴν ἀρόθεσιν ταύτην, καὶ
ἀρέσθεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἐπεργάντον σε θυσιασήσιον. “ Bless “ this Proposition, and receive it upon thy celestial “ Altar.” This first Oblation did not obtain, or come in Practice in the Church until after the three first Centuries, as Mr. *Pfaffius* and Dr. *Hickes* have observed, and is therefore to be esteemed an Interpolation of latter Ages ; *Pfaffius*, p. 293. I mean

the Oblation of Incense. And Dr. *Hickes* has charged the *oratio propositionis*, in which is the aforesaid oblationary Prayer, “Command that these “Gifts be carried by the Hands,” &c. with being an Interpolation likewise. The third Oblation was according to the *Latin* Church, an Oblation of the Gifts and Fruits of the Earth in these words: “We offer to thee thine own out of thine own “Gifts,” which in St. *James*’s Liturgy and St. *Chrysostom*’s, are placed before the words of Invocation and in several other Liturgies, and was the same with what *Irenaeus* L. VI. 32. calls the New Oblation of the New Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offered in the whole world. In chap. lvii. book ii. of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, those very Prayers are mentioned before the Oblation, which in chap. xiii. book viii. are mentioned after it, said by the Bishop immediately before the Distribution, praying that those who are about to communicate may receive worthily. Besides that it can scarce be comprehended, how those Prayers should comprehend a Reference of the Sacrifice, which a little before the Distribution are said by the Bishop. This is an evident Proof of the many Interpolations and Corruptions of the Liturgies of the Ancients. As to the *Western* Liturgies, as Mr. *Pfaffius* has observed, p. 332. there are some in the *Gothic* Missal, in which there is no Mention either of Oblation or Sacrifice. And there are others, in which an Oblation is said made before Consecration, but most few, in which the Gifts consecrated are offered. These Things prove, Ancients did not believe, that an Oblation was required rightly to celebrate the Eucharist, and held this Ceremony for an Addition or Increase, which might both be preserved and let pass without a Crime. But yet since *Dionysius*, to whom the Name *Areopagitæ*,

gite was falsely put in of Ecclesiastical holy Government, chap. iii. of those Things in an Assembly which was made to celebrate the Supper of the Lord, by a granted Labour treated, it is a marvel, the same of an Oblation of the Priest nothing at all to have recited, for although he names both the Altar, and a Priest, who makes Sacrifices, and useth admitteth the Terms in Time past much used in Sacrifices, yet has nothing of an Oblation of Gifts, much less of the repeated Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. As to the two Oblations in which most of them agree, to wit, the Gifts being offered at the Altar, or Communion Table, by the People, or the Deacons, and their being again offered to God, at the Consecration by the Priest, as they are expressed by *Justin Martyr* I. in the words, “ After this is brought to him who presides over the Brethren, Bread and a Cup, &c. which he takes, and offers up Praise and Glory,” and the second in the words, “ When the Bishop has finished the Prayers and Eucharistic Service.” And by *St. Cyril* in his fifth Mystagogical Catechism. There is a Prayer of Oblation following the Invocation, and the words of Institution in that Liturgy, in the following words: “ We thy humble Servants do celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy Gifts, the Memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in Remembrance his blessed Passion, &c.” And as for the Prayer of Invocation, “ Hear us! O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same Night in which he was betrayed, took Bread,”

&c. an Oblation is put under, but spiritual and consisting in Prayers, in which God is asked, desired, to accept this Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving; finally is added, "Here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our Souls and Bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee;" which in any wise are excellent, removed, as I judge, from the words of the *Apology of Gregory Nazianzen*. But this Liturgy was afterwards changed in many things, by the Council of *Bucer* and others, whom these displeased, that is to say the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which yet is in the most ancient Liturgies, they rejected, the words of Consecration so perverted: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine according to thy Son our Saviour Christ's holy Institution, in Remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be Partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood; who in the same Night," &c. Yet *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, restored the Prayer of Oblation, and thankful Remembrance of Christ's Death, and joined together both Forms of Consecration and laid them in one Prayer in the following Manner: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ; so that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution in Remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be made Partakers of his blessed Body and Blood; who in the same Night," &c. — In the Liturgy enjoined for the *Scottish* Churches, and published at *Edinburgh*

burgh in 1637. but afterwards rejected in the Synod of Glasgow.

But yet they who have read the Writings of the English Divines in any wise know, they disputed many things of the Oblation of the Eucharist, and that there be many who call the Sacrifice of the Eucharist a true, proper and of Atonement or Reconciliation, as one may see from the Testimonies of Overall, Andrews, Laud, Mede, Taylor, Heylin, Bramhall, Thondike, Potter, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Bull, Dodwell, Grabe, and others, which partly a reverend Man George Hicks, has gathered together, who himself about this Argument with Hancock, Wise, and others disputed, a most reverend Bishop of Norwich Trimmell coming at last to this theological Disputation, whom after nameles, who wrote of an Oblation of Atonement or Reconciliation of the Eucharist, answered also a most learned Man J. Johnson in an English Tract of the unbloody Sacrifice. Yet it is here to be repeated, and which we have above observed, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, which English Divines set up, is altogether most different from the Sacrifice of the Mass, since this consists in the repeated Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Lord, but that in the Oblation of Bread and Wine, which only are the mystical Body of Christ, and represent the true. As to these two Oblations, I say, I hope it appears from the Words of Bishop Patrick before cited, that we have them in Substance, in the Liturgy of our Church; the first in the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the second in the Prayer of Consecration. This Dr. Hickes himself acknowledgeth. He, I say, acknowledgeth it, *i. e.* that the first is in the Prayers for the Church militant, and the second at the Prayer of Consecration. His Words are after he had mentioned the first Oblation,

lation, as contained in the Prayer for the Church Militant. "The latter, *i. e.* Oblation, is made in " Substance, and according to the Intention of the " Church, in the Prayer of Consecration to God " the Father, where after the Commemoration of " Christ's offering himself upon the Cross, and " his Institution of the perpetual Memorial of his " precious Death, God the Father is implored to " hear us, while according to the same Institution," &c. And then while the Priest recites the Words of the Institution, he is to take the Bread into his Hands, and break it, and at the Words, " This " is my Body," to lay his Hand upon all the Bread, and at the Words, " He took the Cup," he is to take the Chalice into his Hand, and at these Words, " This is my Blood of the New Te- " stament," he is to lay his Hand upon every Vessel, in which there is Wine to be consecrated.

C H A P. III.

Of the Difference and Agreement of the Words, Sacrifice and Oblation. Christ the true Sacrifice, Messiah, and Supreme God, proved by Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Fathers, and Poets.

MAL. i. 11, 12, 13.

I have no Pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept an Offering at your Hand. For from the rising of the Son, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles. And in every Place Incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering: For my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts. 12. But ye have profaned it, in that ye say, the Table of the Lord is polluted, and the Fruit thereof, even his Meat is contemptible. 13. Ye said also, behold, what a Weariness it is, and ye have snuffed at it, saith the Lord of Hosts; and ye brought that which was torn, and the Lame, and the Sick; thus ye brought an Offering: Should I accept this of your Hands? saith the Lord.

THE first Account which the Holy Scriptures give us of any public Worship having been offered up to God by Mankind, was of its being offered by way of Sacrifices. First by the two first Descendants from *Adam*, *Cain* and *Abel*, 2400 Years before the giving of the Law, and afterwards by the Posterity of *Noah*, after the Destruction of the old World *. Afterwards Sacrifice was

* Both which are elegantly expressed by the divine Poet *Milton*, in the following Lines, the former, *Paradise Lost*, Book xi. Line 432.

I'th' midſt an Altar, as the Land-mark, stood ;
 Rustic, of grassy Sod : thither anon
 A sweaty Reaper from his Tillage brought
 First Fruits, the green Ear, and the yellow Sheaf ;
 Uncull'd, as came to hand : A Shepherd next,
 More meek, came with the Firstlings of his Flock,
 Choicest and best : Then ſacrificing, laid
 The Inwards, and their Fat, with Incenſe ſtrew'd,
 On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd :
 His Off'ring ſoon propitious Fire from Heav'n
 Conſum'd, with nimble Glance, and grateful Steam :
 The other's not : for his was not ſincere.

The latter, Book xii. Line 13.

This ſecond Source of Men, while yet but few,
 And while the Dread of Judgment paſt remains
 Fresh in their Minds, fearing the Deity,
 With ſome Regard to what is just, and right,
 Shall lead their Lives, and multiply apace ;
 Lab'ring the Soil, and reaping plenteous Crop,
 Corn, Wine, and Oil : And from the Herd, or Flock,
 Oft ſacrificing Bullock, Lamb, or Kid,
 With large Wine-offerings pour'd, and ſacred Feaſt,
 Shall ſpend their Days — — —

And that these were Types of the grand Sacrifice of the Croſs,
 and of the Practice of Religion in ſucceeding Ages in the
 Church of Christ. Line 230.

— — — — Part ſuch as appertain
 To Civil Justice ; Part, religious Rites
 Of Sacrifice ; informing them by Types,
 And Shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruife
 The Serpent, by what means He ſhall atchieve
 Mankind's Deliverance. — — —

So Line 289.

— — — — That when they ſee
 Law can diſcover Sin, but not remove,
 (Save by thoſe shadowy Expiations weak,
 The Blood of Bulls and Goats) they may conclude
 Some Blood more precious muſt be paid for Man ;
 Just for unjust : that, in ſuch Righteousneſſ
 To them by Faith imputed, they may find

Justification

was a Rite * and Medium, whereby under the Law, Prayers, Hymns, and Doxologies, were usually presented to God. Some learned Authors interpret this pure Offering mentioned in the Text, of a material Sacrifice †, offered in the Christian Church; which they say, are Alms and Oblations, called pure. First upon Account of the Manner of their being offered, *i. e.* λόγω ἐυχῆς καὶ ἐυχαρισίας, by the means of Prayer and Thanksgiving, or, secondy, without Malice, Guile, or Hypocrify, as the peculiar Requisite of all Gospel Sacrifices; lastly, as those which are offered at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, represent Christ the great Sin Offering ‡. Which Passage *Tertullian* interprets only

of

Justification towards God and Peace
Of Conscience; which the Law by Ceremonies
Cannot appease; nor Man the moral Part
Perform; and, not performing, cannot live.
So, Law appears imperfect; and but giv'n
With Purpose to resign them in full Time,
Up to a better Covenant; disciplin'd
From shadowy Types to Truth; from Flesh to Spirit;

* 2 Chron. xxix. 27. 1 Sam. vii. 9. Ezra vi. 10. Psal. cxvi. 113. Prov. xv. 8. Baruch i. 10, 11. 2 Chron. vii. 12.

† Mr. Mede, Dr. Heylin, &c.

‡ Dr. Outram's Definition of a Sacrifice, is as follows: *Ut sit ωροτφορὰ rite consumpta, seu, ut paulo explicatius dicam, Sacrificium apud populum Hebræum ijsmodi erat sacrificium quod, cum Deo oblatum erat, tum rite confectum & consumptum.* i. e. " That " it be an Oblation rightly consumed, or, that I may speak a little " more clearly, a Sacrifice with the Hebrew People was such a fa- " cred Thing, which when it was offered to God, as the Cu- " stom is, then slain and consumed." And although some might imagine the Paschal Sacrifice to make an Exception, as it was all to be eaten, yet the Blood was to be sprinkled, and offered to God. Chron. xxx. 16. xxxv. 11. Exod. xxii. 18. xxvi. 25. And some think the Inwards and the Fat were to be burnt upon the Altar. See Reland Ant. Heb. p. 389. But Dr. Hickes objects to this Definition, that Passage of *Irenæus*, *Non genus Oblationum reprobatum est, Oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem & huic.* i. e.

E e " That

of the spiritual Sacrifice of Praise, Blessing, and a contrite Heart.

The Jewish Sacrifices were brought by the People to God's Altar, to the Priest who offered them up to God in their behalf, for himself and the People, and afterwards, both Priest and People in common partook of them, as in their Peace Offerings, or the Priest alone, as in the Sin and Trespass Offerings; some were heaved up to Heaven, and weaved to the four Corners of the World*. Besides their Offerings of First Fruits, Shew Bread, and the Red Heifer.

The Word Oblation and Sacrifice, are so very nearly related in Signification, that some Authors make no Distinction at all between them. Oblations, Offerings, denote properly Things offered to God; in the common Law, Oblations are defined to be Things offered by Godly Christians, to God, and the Church, *i. e.* to the Priest, whether they be Moveables, or Immoveables. Oblations were anciently of various Kinds, *Oblationes Altaris*, which

“ The kind of Oblations is not rejected, there were Oblations there, and there are Oblations here.” Likewise that it excludes the red Heifer out of the Number of proper Sacrifices, Numb. xix. tho' she was brought by Eleazar Chief of the Priests, and slain before his Face, and he took of her Blood with his Finger, and sprinkled it before the Tabernacle seven Times, and had the whole Essence of a familiar expiatory Sacrifice, as the Jews observed, in a word thought it was one of the most eminent Types of the expiatory Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, yet Dr. *Outram* by the Restrictions of his own Definition, excludes it out of the Number of Sacrifices, because it is not called *Corban*, and slain at the Altar, as other Sacrifices were. *Rabbi Abarbanel*, and Mr. *Bright* call it Animal Sacrifice, a Sacrifice for Sin and *Corban*, a Gift or Sacrifice. It likewise excludes the Scape Goat, because it was not slain, and consumed like the other Goat, although they were both alike presented before the Lord at the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

* *Lev.* ii. 12.

the Priest had for saying Mass. *Oblationes defunctorum*, given by the Wills of the Faithful to the Church. *Oblationes Mortuorum*, those given by the Relations of the Dead at their Burials. *Oblationes Penitentium*, those given by Penitents. *Oblationes Pentecostales*, Whitsun Offerings. Mr. Pfaffius says that the Words Oblation and Sacrifice differ very much, yet at other Times he useth the Words promiscuously to signify the same thing. The main Difference, according to him, where he does make any, seems to lie in this, that in every Sacrifice, there is required sprinkling of Blood, Mactation and Consumption; but that and Oblation, though not without Consumption, may be without Mactation, or sprinkling of Blood. Yet Dr. Hickes, and others, have strenuously maintained, that a true and proper Sacrifice, may be without either Destruction, or Consumption; that Sacrifice and Oblation are equivalent Terms. Mr. Mede, in his Book intituled, *The Christian Sacrifice*, hath the following Words to our present Purpose. Ignatius, faith he, in his Epistle *ad Smyrnenses*, hath both $\pi\rho\rho\sigma\phi\rho\alpha$ and $\Theta\sigma\alpha$. *Non licet*, faith he, *absq; Episco*
po \varepsilon\tau\epsilon \beta\alpha\omega\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon \varepsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\rho\rho\sigma\phi\rho\epsilon\iota\epsilon \varepsilon\tau\epsilon \Theta\sigma\alpha\iota\alpha \pi\rho\rho\sigma\kappa\omega\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon, \varepsilon\tau\epsilon \delta\omega\chi\eta\iota\epsilon \epsilon\pi\beta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon. ‘ It is not lawful without ‘ the Bishop either to baptize or celebrate the Ob-‘ lation, or to offer the Sacrifice or Communion.’ Whence he calls $\pi\rho\rho\sigma\phi\rho\alpha$ in a stricter Sense, the first Part of the sacred mystical Service, to wit, the Thanksgiving, wherein the Bread and Wine were offered to God to agnize his Dominion. $\Theta\sigma\alpha$ he calls the mystical Commemoration of Christ’s Body and Blood, $\Delta\omega\chi\eta$ the Receiving and Participation of the same. For know that $\Theta\sigma\alpha$, and $\pi\rho\rho\sigma\phi\rho\alpha$, are sometimes used for the whole Action, and sometimes thus distinguished. This Christian Service, as we have defined it, is an Oblation properly, for

E e 2 where-

wheresoever any Thing is tendered to present unto God, there is truly and properly an Oblation. Be it spiritual or visible, it matters not; for Oblation is the Genus. And *Irenæus* tells me here, *non genus oblationum reprobatum est*, the Kind of Oblations is not rejected.

Mr. *Johnson* in his Treatise intitled, *The unbloody Sacrifice*, argues, that Θύω doth in its primary Signification, imply not *macto*, but to offer any Thing to the Gods by burning it with Fire, or any such prevailing Rite; that although some of the Fathers were drawn into the vulgar Stream, the Word having been frequently used upon that Occasion, to understand by Θύω a Sacrifice which was slain, yet *Theophrastus* owned that it was an Innovation when applied to slain Things. And the Fathers owned that a Sacrifice might be unbloody, and that to sacrifice was to make a Present to the Gods, for so it is called by *Plato*. In the same manner Dr. *Hickes* had before said who distinguished Sacrifice, or Oblation into the sacrificial Administration, and the *Res oblata*, into the Ἱερεγεία and the ΔΩΡΟΝ *Donum*, as distinguished from other Gifts which were upon any Account hanged up in Temples, and fastened to Altars and called ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ *Donaria*, Christ. Priesthood, p. 160.

The former, that is the sacrificial Administration, he defines to be a religious Action or Operation of a Priest, ordinary or extraordinary, by which a Gift brought is solemnly offered according to the Rites and Observances of any Religion before, at, or upon any Place, unto any God to honour and worship him; and thereby to acknowledge him to be God and Lord. The *res oblata*, or Thing offered in the following Terms. A Sacrifice is a Gift brought, and solemnly offered by a Priest ordinary or extraordinary, according to the Rites and Observances

Observances of any Religion, before, at, or upon any Place, unto any God to honour and worship him, and thereby to acknowledge him to be God and Lord. And according to the same Author to offer is Δρᾶν Ἐρδεῖν, πέζεῖν, ποιεῖν, in Greek, נְתַנְנָה in Hebrew, and facere in Latin, whereby the Offerer is made Partaker of God's Table, in Token of Covenant and Friendship with him ; or more explicitly thus, an Offering unto the divine Majesty of that which is given for the Food of Man, that the Offerer partaking thereof might, as by way of Pledge, might be certified of his Acceptation into Covenant and Fellowship with his God, *By eating and drinking at his Table.* And St. Austin, *Quod Deo nuncupamus, redimus & dedicamus, hoc fine, ut Sancta Societate ipsi ad hæreamus.* What we name to God, render and dedicate to this End, that we may cleave unto him by sacred Fellowship. Yet this of St. Austin signifies rather the Effect of a Sacrifice, than a Sacrifice itself, that is, what it does, and not what it is. But that of *Isidore*, Orig. lib. vi. seems to be more exact, *Sacrificium dictum quasi Sacrum factum.* A Sacrifice is reckoned a sacred Fact. We may justly observe, saith *Isaac Casaubon* in his Notes upon lib. i. c. ii. of *Athenæus*, who agreeth with Mr. *Johnson*, in his Sense of the Word θύω, that the Greek Writers call θεῖα or give that Name, not only to all Victims which properly θειέονται, and are killed for the Use of Sacrifice, but to all Animals, whatsoever are killed to be eaten ; it is very plain both from sacred and other Writings, that in the first Times, when the eating of Flesh was unknown to Men, that as *Hestias* saith, Victims were killed only in Honour of the Deity, but afterwards the eating of Herbs and ἀπυρτός τρόφη, Food free from Fire, raw, grew irksome to Men, therefore they began to eat Flesh ; and he who

did

did eat before he had consecrated a Part of it to God, was branded with this Proverb, *Ἄθυλα ιερεῖα κατέβισι*, i. e. he eateth not sacrificed, not slain, Meat. Although St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21. by the Word Θύω, certainly meant *matto*, because what the Gentiles feasted upon in their sacrificial Banquets, were first slain in Honour of their Gods *Ἄθυει τὸ θλαμ δαιμονίοις θύει*. Therefore, when some interpret Θύται, *maletores*, they seem too much to limit the Signification of the Word; for Dr. Hickes explains it of Ministers of the Gospel, as sacrificing Priests. See *Pfaff. de Obl. vet.* p. 192.

Gelefius differs somewhat in his Explication of the Word Θύω from Mr. *Johnson*, *Mede*, and others, and says, *Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Council of Nice*, cap. 30. *Τὸν ἀνυπο τὸ Θεῖον ἀθύλως από τὸ ιερῶς Θυόμενον*. The Lamb of God sacrificed by a Priest in an unbloody Way, adding that Θύω in its primary Sense, signifies to kill or slay according to the Evangelists, *Matt. xxii. 4. My Oxen and my Fattlings are killed, and all Things are ready, Luke xv, 23, &c. John x. 10. Acts x. 13.* and that *Ἄθυτως*, or *Ἄθυλος* in its primary Sense, signifies, *non maletatus*. But as Θύω in its secondary Sense, signifies to sacrifice or offer Animals, and thence again to offer or sacrifice in the most general Sense. So the Fathers said the Lamb of God was sacrificed *Ἄθυτως, in-cruente*. *Ἄθυλος* signifies also *non sacrificatus*, in a literal and figurative Sense.

1st, Literally, as *Atheneus* lib. iv. where he saith of *Epicurus*,

Ἄθυλα δὲ ιερα πολλάκις κατέβισι he often eats unhal-lowed Meat.

2dly, Figuratively, So *Pbilo* saith of the Sacrifices of the wicked, that they are *Ἄθυλοι θυσίαι καὶ αἱέσθαι ιερεῖς γυμναὶ* unconfeciated Sacrifices and unhal-lowed Oblations.

And

And *Ibid.* Θυσίας ἀθύτως ἀνήγαγε, He brought unhallowed Sacrifices. From hence we may learn, that the Word Θύω may signify to sacrifice, without Mactation or Consummation. For Proof of this I shall add a few Testimonies.

1st, From an antient Liturgy.

Καλαγγέλλοντες τὸν Θάνατον τῷ μονογενὲς, υἷς θεῶς τῷ
εἰς Ἰησούς Κριστό. τὴν εἰκόναν ἀναβίωσιν, καὶ τὸν εἰς θρά-
νος ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογήσιες, τὴν ἀναίματον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλεσίαις
τελεῖμεν Θυσίαν. Shewing forth the Death of the only
begotten Son of God, that is Jesus Christ, and con-
fessing his Resurrection from the Dead and Assump-
tion into the Heavens. We offer in the Churches
this unbloody Sacrifice, and St. Chrysostom in his
Homily ad Heb. x. p. 523. Ed. Sav. εἰς ἄλλην Θυ-
σίαν Καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀυτὸν αἱ τοιω-
μεν μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα Θυσίας. We do not
make another Sacrifice as the High Priest of old,
but always the same; or rather we make a Com-
memoration of a Sacrifice; and Eusebius, *Evang.*
Demon. cap. vii. p. 37, 38, 39. Μελάδη τὸν θάνατὸν τοῦ Θαυ-
ματιονθύμα, καὶ σφάγιον ἔχαριστον τῷ πατρὶ καλεοποίημεν, ^{Θεῷ},
υπερ τῆς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν, ἀνέγκει σωτηρίας, μνήμην καὶ ἡμῶν
ταφαδὸς αὐτῷ Θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ δικαιῶς προσφέρειν. But
after all having slain an admirable Sacrifice, a se-
lect Victim to his Father, he offered it up for the
Salvation of us all, and delivered to us a Remem-
brance instead of a Sacrifice to offer up perpetually
Καὶ γάρ ἡπαρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτελευμένη τῷ σώματῷ τε Κυρίου
φρικὴν τελεῖν εἰς Θυσίων εἰς διαφόρων προσαγογὴν; ἀλλὰ τῆς
ἄπαξ προσενηγμένης Θυσίας ἀνάμνησις τέτο γάρ φοιτ-
ποιεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν ἀνάμνησιν. The tremendous Sacri-
fice of the Body of our Lord, which is celebrated
with us, is not the bringing of many Sacrifices,
but the Memorial of a Sacrifice once offered; for
he saith, *This do in Remembrance of me.* So Oecu-
nemius, Τί ἔν, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αἱ Θυσίας ἀναίματος προσ-
φέρομεν.

φέρομεν. Why therefore do we not always offer unbloody Sacrifices.

The Prophet in the Words of the foregoing Text. *Mal. i. 10. 11. 12.* justly rebukes the People of *Israel* for placing too much Merit in their carnal Sacrifices, preferring them even before Works of Piety and Righteousness; and lets them know that these had no real Value or Excellence in them to recommend the Offerers to the divine Favour, being permitted for a Time only, as Ends and Exercises of their Faith: But because they had neither Faith, Mercy or Repentance, God rejects them and the Offerers both; saying, as in the Words of the Text, *I have no Pleasure in you saith the Lord of Hosts, &c.*

So it is said in a parallel Text. *Isaiah i. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.* *To what Purpose is the Multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord. I am full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams and the Fat of fed Beasts, and I delight not in the Blood of Bullocks, or of Lambs, or of He-Goats. 12. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your Hand to tread my Courts? 13. Bring no more vain Oblations, Incense is become an Abomination unto me, the new Moons and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies I cannot away with, it is Iniquity, even the solemn Meeting. 14. Your new Moons, and your appointed Feasts, my Soul hateth: they are a Trouble unto me, I am weary to bear them. 15. And when ye spread forth your Hands I will hide mine Eyes from you; Yea, when ye make many Prayers, I will not bear, your Hands are full of Blood. 16. Wash ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings from before mine Eyes, cease to do Evil. 17. Learn to do well, seek Judgment, relieve the Oppressed, judge the Fatherless, plead for the Widow.* That is to say, without the Works of Religion, Faith and Repentance,

tance, your Sacrifices offered in the new Moons, and Feasts are disagreeable to me. He condemns thereby Hypocrites who think to please God by Ceremonies, and they themselves are void of Faith and Mercy. Verse 14. shews that where Men be given to Avarice, Deceit, and Cruelty, which is meant by Blood, Verse 15. then God will shew his Anger, though they seem never so holy. Verse 16. by outward Washing, he means the spiritual, exhorting the Jews to Repentance and Amendment of Life. That some kind of Worship is due to the supreme Creator the Light of Nature suggested to our first Parents even in their State of Innocence*. And their Posterity looking upon God as their Creator || and Redeemer, we are bound to pay a peculiar

* *Irenæus* hath particular Regard to the former, in the Passage following, Lib. 4 Cap. 34. *Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere, & in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricatori Deo in sententia pura & sine hypocrita.* We ought to make an Oblation unto God, and in all Things to be found grateful to the Maker of the World, with a pure Thought, without Hypocrisy, and in a firm Hope; and St. Austin to the former and latter both, lib. x. contra Faust. cap. 21. *Illi patres nostri immolantes, uni Dei creatori omnium victimas obtulerunt, &c.* Those our Fathers sacrificing, offered their Victims to one Creator of all Things, &c. See Ps. xxi. 1. Deut. xvi. 16. Chrysost. Hom. in Mat. xxv. 26.

|| Ignatius in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew speaks likewise to the same Purpose, ή τῆς σεμιδάλεως ἀροσφερὰ ή ἵπερ τῶν καθαιρομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας ἀροσφέρεσθαι ταραχαδοῦσα τύπος ήν τῇ ἀρτᾳ τῆς ἐυχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῇ πάθει ή ἵπαθεν ὑπέρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς Ψυχάς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθεύπων, Ἰητῆς Κριστῷ οὐ Κύριον ήμῶν παρεδωκε ποιεῖν. The offering of fine Wheat Flour delivered to be offered for those who were purged from the Leprosy, was a Type of the Bread of the Eucharist or Thanksgiving which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to offer up in Commemoration of that Passion which he suffered for such as are purified in their Souls, from all the Wickedness of Men, and both these Reasons are set down at large in the Cle-

peculiar Worship to him upon both these Accounts; but are frequently told in Scripture, that the mere external Exercise of any Religion, without that Sanctity and Purity of Heart and Life required of the Professor is (*not Religion itself,*) but the mere empty Pomp, or Ornament of it, a Form of Godliness without the Power thereof. The *Jewish* bloody Sacrifices were offered to appease the offended God for the Sins of the Offerer, who was to acknowledge himself guilty of the Death afflicted upon the slain Beast: And since God was reconciled to the Offender, for such Offering, it hence appears that when Sacrifices were offered, Thanksgiving and Praise were to be rendered to God, * and the

Heart

mention *Liturgy*, in the following Words. *It is indeed meet and right to sing Praises to thee, the true God from everlasting, of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named.* Chrysost. Hom. ad i Ep. ad Cor. introduceth the Apostles speaking thus: Ἐυλογίαν γὰρ ἀνεῖπω. πάντα ἀναπίσσω τὸν τῆς ἐνεργείας τὸν Θεὸν Θεσαυρὸν, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων αἰναριστῶν δωρεῶν. When we speak of this Blessing, I display the Treasures of the Divine Bounty, and call to Mind those his great Benefits. So Πολήγοντος ἐνλογίας ἐκάλεσεν ἐπειδὴ μὲν Χεῖρας ἔκοντες, ἔτως αὐτὸν αὐτούς μεν Θαυμάζοντες, called it the Cup of Blessing, because taking it in our Hands, we adore him, and celebrate his Praise with Hymns.

* To sacrifice upon a Day of Mourning and Sadness, was esteemed by the Jews a Crime. When *Aaron* was in Trouble for the Loss of his Sons, he durst not eat of the Type of the Sacrament, lest he should displease God by his Grief, *Lev. x. 16, 19.*

את שער החטאת דדרש משה והנה שוף יקוף על אלעור ועל אית פיר בני אהון הנותרם לאמר. יונבר אהרן אל-משה זו הוים הקריבו Chap. x. 19. את-הטאתם ואת-עלתם לפני יהוה ותקרנה את' כאלה ואלמי חטא היום הייטב בעני יהוה.

16. *And Moses diligently sought the Goat of the Sin-offerings, and behold it was burnt, and he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the Sons of Aaron, which were left alive, saying, —*

19. *And Aaron said unto Moses, Behold, this Day have they offered*

Heart was to rejoice for the Mercy received. But under the Gospel Dispensations all those Sacrifices are abolished, and in their Stead the Worshipper is to offer up spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, either as † thankful Acknowledgments of the Mercies vouchsafed of God to Mankind, or for Blessings prayed for through the Merits of Christ. Therefore by the Words of the Prophet in the Text, *Mal. i. 10, 11, 12.* God declares to the Jews that he would reject their Offerings and Sacrifices, and in their Stead appoint Evangelical Oblations to be offered unto him, the Purity whereof should consist in this Requisite, that the Offerer should be free from Hatred against his Brother. For thus the || Learned explain the Text, *We sacrifice as God hath commanded, a clean Sacrifice, an honest Prayer from a pure Conscience,* for the Builder of the World needs not any Savour or Blood, but a pure Sacrifice, to wit, a proposing of Glory, Blessing, Praise and Hymns; or a pure Gift § void of all Sordidness.

The

offered their Sin-offering, and their Burnt-offering before the Lord; and such Things have befallen me. And if I had eaten the Sin-offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the Sight of the Lord?

So Munster observes upon this Place, *Quomodo potui comedere eam mente Lugubri.* How could I have eaten it with a sorrowful Mind? *Agnoscit quod cum lætitia debet comeare sacrificium; potius ataq; elegit omittere, quam cum mærore perficere.* He acknowledgeth that he ought to eat the Sacrifice with Joy. Therefore he chuseth rather to omit it than perform it with Grief.

† So Justin Martyr speaks, in his *Dial.* with *Trypbo*, p. 260.

|| Tertullian explaining this Text, hath the following Words. *In omni loco sacrificium effertur nomini meo, & sacrificium mundum, Gloriæ relatio, Benedictio, Laus & Hymni.* In every Place Sacrifice is offered to my Name, and a pure Sacrifice, a Reference of Glory, Blessing, Praise and Hymns.

§ Pure as to the Manner of offering it up, with Prayers, Lauds, i. e. Praises and Thanksgivings, not as they were offered by the Jews, with Fire, Slaughter, and Incense. *Contra Mar.* lib. iii. cap. 2. So lib. iv. cap. 22. *Sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex*

The Words of my Text being thus briefly explained, I shall deduce from them the following Particulars by endeavouring,

I. To

simplex Oratio de Conscientiâ purâ. A pure Sacrifice, to wit, a sincere Prayer from a pure Conscience. And in his Book *ad Scapulam sacrificiamus*, saith he, *Sed quomodo præcit Deus purâ prece, non enim eget Deus conditor universitatis odoris aut Sanguinis alicujus*, i. e. We sacrifice as God hath commanded, with pure Prayer; for the Builder of the World needs not any Saviour or Blood, (and Book the 3d against *Marcion*) *Sacrificium mundum, Gloriæ relatio, Benedicatio, Laus & Hymni.* But a pure Sacrifice, to wit, a Requital of Glory, Blessing, Praise and Hymns, cap. xxii. So in the 5th Canon of the first Council of *Nice*, *δῶρον καθαρόν πάσοντο μικροψυχίας αναγράψαντες*, a pure Gift, void of all Sordidness. See *Irenæus*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

The learned Poet who I have before quoted, hath in a very elegant Manner in his Poem introduced Christ, as our High Priest, presenting our Prayers and Supplications, our Gospel Incense to God the Father, in a Golden Censer, praying him to accept them through his Merits and Mediation, in the following Lines, where he likewise mentions him preferring them before any other Sacrifices.

See Father ! what First-fruits on Earth are sprung
From thy implanted Grace in Man ! Those Sighs
And Pray'r which in this golden Censer mix'd
With Incense I thy Priest before thee bring :
Fruits of more pleasing Savour from thy Seed
Sown with Contrition in his Heart than those
Which (his own Hand manuring) all the Trees
Of Paradise could have produc'd, e'er fall'n
From Innocence. Now therefore bend thine Ear
To Supplication ; hear his Sighs tho' mute !
Unskilful with what Words to pray, let me
Interpet for him : Me his Advocate
And Propitiation ; all his Works on me,
Good, or not good, ingraft : My Merit those
Shall perfect ; and for these my Death shall pray.

Milton's Paradise Lost, Book xxii, &c.

Observe how elegantly the Poet has here expressed the incomunicable Authority of Christ our High Priest, after the Order

of

I. To shew for what End and Design the *Jewish* Sacrifices were first instituted, and the Reason for which they were abolished.

of *Melchisedech*, in offering up our spiritual Incense to God the Father, according to that Text of the Evangelist, *Rev.* viii. 3. *And another Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden Censer; and there was given unto him much Incense, that he should offer it with the Prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar, which was before the Throne.*

And as in the Law none but the High Priest is to incense the most holy Place, when he went into it; which Incense he had fetched from without the Veil, so none but Christ must offer our spiritual Incense in Heaven, the holiest Tabernacle of all; and this I take to be a sufficient Proof of the Vanity, to say no worse of it, of praying to Saints and Angels to intercede for us, for Pardon of Sin, or any other Blessing whatsoever at the Hands of God. See *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom.* Lib. vii. p. 707 & 848.

The Author of the *Middoth* cites this Text, when he opposeth the spiritual Worship under the Gospel Dispensation, to the carnal Rites and Ceremonies under the Law.

Et enim quum istae ceremoniae, cum Dei praeceptis per Mosem datis non convenient, hinc colligere est in proclive, id Deo animum fuisse, ut nobis hæc pugna & diversitate ostenderet, istas ceremonias quaeque pertinet proprie intelligenda non esse, sed spiritualem continere sensum in omnibus locis, suffitentem offertur nomini meo & munus purum. For since these Ceremonies agree not with the Commands of God given by *Moses*, hence it is easy to conclude, that this was the Mind of God, that he might shew us by that Disputation and Diversity, that those Ceremonies and what belongs to that Point are not properly understood, but that they contain a spiritual Sense — In every Place a Perfume is offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering.

The Apostolical Constitutions interpret this Passage of First-fruits and Tythes (*Justin Martyr*) of the external Oblation of the Gifts to be consecrated, as appears from the following Passage, *Οὐ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα μιχὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, λέγετε Κύριος, ἵμετι δε βεβηλοῦτε αὐτό, περιδέ τῶν ἐνπαντὶ τὸπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀροσφερομένῳ αὐτῷ Θυσιῶν τὰ τεῖσι τὰ ἀρίτια τῆς ἐυχαριστίας καὶ τὰ ποιητικά ὄμοιως τῆς ἐυχαριστίας προλέγει τοῖς ἐπών.* For my Name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord, but you profane it, but concerning Sacrifices which are offered in every Place to him by us Gentiles, that is of the Bread of the Eucharist, and of the Cup likewise of the Eucharist he propheciet then saying, &c.

II. That

II. That spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ are substituted in the stead of them, and what they are.

III. How much they are preferable to the former.

IV. Treat more particularly of each of those spiritual Sacrifices, which are acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

I. I am to shew for what End the *Jewish* Sacrifices were instituted, and the Reasons for which they were abolished.

Many of the *Jews* were of Opinion that Sacrifices proceeded from human Invention, before commanded of God, which Opinion the Father † *Chrysostom*, and ‡ *Justin* have followed, the former says, speaking of *Abel* that not by any Law which appointed first Fruits, but within himself, being moved by his own Conscience he offered that Sacrifice. And the latter, none of those who offered small Cattle in Sacrifice to God before the Law, did it by divine Command, nevertheless it lies open that God accepted such like, and by accepting, shewed, that he who offered was acceptable to him. Certainly it appears the *Hebrews* were desirous of many Rites, which therefore was † a sufficient Cause

† In the 12th of his Statutes.

‡ In Answer to Orthodox, in the Works of *Justin*, to Question LXXXIII.

† This very Reason *Maimonides* in his *Guide to the Doubting*, Book III. Chap. xxxii. alledges for the Law of Sacrifices. So *Tertullian*, in his second Book against *Marcion*, *Would you have me to find Fault with the Burthen and Working of Sacrifices, and very busy Scrupulousness of Oblations, as though God properly desired such Things for himself, who so manifestly exclaims against them? Whence that Multitude of your Sacrifices to me? And who hath searched them out at your Hands?* But let him regard this Diligence of God, who would constrain to his Religion a People

Cause why God should enjoin them many, left in Remembrance of an inhabiting in *Egypt*, they should return to the Worship of false Gods. But when their Posterity esteemed those Sacrifices more than Equity, as in themselves acceptable to God, and a Part of real Piety, they were reproved by the Prophets.

אַסְפּוֹלִי חָסִידִי כְּרָתִיבָרִיתִי ۱۰. *Psalm 1. ver. 5, 8, 9, 10.*
עַלְיָזְבָח לֹא עַל-זְכָח אָכִי-חָדָר וְעוֹלָתִיךְ לְנַנְדִּי יִתְמִיד לֹא
אָכֵח מִבֵּיתֶךָ פֶּר מִמְּכֹלָאתִיךְ עֲתָרוֹתִים. &c.

5. *Gather my Saints together unto me, those that have made a Covenant with me by Sacrifice.* 8. *I will not reprove thee for thy Sacrifices, or thy Burnt-offerings, to have been continually before me.* 9. *I will take no Bullock out of thy House, nor He-Goats out of thy Folds.* 10. *For every Beast of the Forest is mine, and the Cattle upon a thousand Hills.*

There were some among the *Hebrews*, who say that these Words were spoke forasmuch, because those who offered those Sacrifices, were impure in their Hearts and Lives. But the Words of this Psalm teach us the contrary, to wit, that *Jewiſh* Sacrifices have nothing in themselves acceptable to God. And if you consider the Proceſs of the whole Psalm, God in these Words speaks unto the Saints, for he says, *Gather my Saints together unto me*; and ver. 7. *Hear O my People, and I will speak, I myself will testify against thee, O Israel, for I am God, even thy God.* Then having finished those Words which we have brought, he converts his Discourse to the Wicked, ver. 16. but to the Ungodly, saith God, *What hast thou to do, to declare my Statutes, or that*

ple prone to Idolatry and Superstition, by such like Duties, wherein the Superstition of the Age was dealt, that he might call them off from it, commanding them so to do as if what he desired, lest they should transgresſ in the making of Images.

thou

thou shouldest to take my Covenant in thy Mouth.
 Other Passages declare the same Sense as Psalm li.
 &c. 16. **כִּי לَا-תִּחְאַת**. *For thou desirest no Sacrifice,*
else would I give it thee: But thou delightest not in
Burnt-offerings. 17. *The Sacrifice of God is a trou-*
bled Spirit, a broken and a contrite Heart, O God shalt
thou not despise. A like Passage is to be found in
 the xlth Psalm, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. By *Isaiah*, Cap.
 1. God is brought or drawn in so speaking; by
Jeremiah there is a Place equal to this, and its
 Expounder: *Jeremiah*, Chap. vii. ver. 21, 22.
נֵה אָמַד יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַלְתִּיבָּם סְפִיעָל-
וּנְחִינָּת וְאַכְלָו בָּשָׂר.

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel,
Put your Burnt-offerings unto your Sacrifices, and eat
Flesh. And Hos. vi. 6. *For I desired Mercy and*
not Sacrifice, and the Knowledge of God more than
Burnt-offerings. And Micah vi. 6, 7, 8. *Where-*
with shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself be-
fore the high God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-
offerings, with Calves of a Year old? Will the Lord
be pleased with Thousands of Rams, or with ten Thou-
sands of Rivers of Oil? Shall I give my First-born
for my Transgression, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin
of my Soul? He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is
good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to
do justly, and to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with
thy God? So-Is. xxxiii. 15, 16. *He that walketh*
righteously and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the
Gain of Oppressions, that shaketh his Hands from hold-
ing of Bribes, that stoppeth his Ears from hearing of
Blood, and shutteth his Eyes from seeing Evil: 16.
He shall dwell on high: His Place of Defence shall be
the Munitions of Rocks, Bread shall be given him, his
Waters shall be sure. Habbak. xi. 4. *Behold his Soul*
which is lifted up is not upright in him. But the just
shall live by Faith. Amos v. 6. *Seek the Lord and*

ye live, lest he break out like Fire in the House of Joseph, and devour it, and there be none to quench it in Bethel. From which Places since it appears, Sacrifices are not of the Number of the Things, which God desired chiefly in dignity, eminently, and of themselves; but the People, naughty Superstition creeping in by little and little, as it often happens, placed the chiefest Part of Piety in them, and believed by their Sacrifices their Sins were sufficiently compensated; what a Wonder is it, if God at length made away with a Thing in its own Nature indifferent, but whose Use now had spread, slipped into a Vice when King *Ezechieles* also broke in Pieces the brasen Serpent erected by *Moses*, because the People had begun to worship it with religious Reverence, 2 Kings, Chap. xv. xviii. Ver. 4. Nor are Prophecies wanting, which that those Sacrifices, about which the Controversy, foretold would end, which any one will understand, who will but consider that according to the Law of *Moses* to sacrifice was granted to the only Posterny of *Aaron*, and that only in the Ground, the Soil or Floor of their Country. But *Is.* xix. 19, 21, 23. says, *That there shall be an Altar seen in Egypt, where not only the Egyptians, but the Assyrians, and Israelites shall worship God*: And in Chap. lxvi. 20, 21, 22, 23. he saith, *It shall come to pass that the People farthest off distant, and of all Languages, no less than the Israelites should offer Gifts to God; and that out of them should be appointed Priests and Levites; all which, while the Law of Moses stood, could not be.*

I proceed 2dly to shew that spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ are substituted instead of Jewish Sacrifices; and what they be. As the Jewish Service consisted in the Sacrifices which they offered to God, so our Service

consists in those Prayers, Praises and Thanksgivings which we offer to God thro' Jesus Christ, according to the Words of the Apostle St. Peter, *1 Pet. v. 5.* Who calls the *Christian* Church united in one Society under Christ their Head, an holy Priesthood, to offer spiritual Sacrifices, which are their Faith and Obedience, their Charity, Repentance, converting and instructing the Ignorant, &c. parallel to which those bloody Sacrifices under the Laws were Mediums, whereby Prayer were usually presented unto God, see *1 Sam. xiii. 12.* *Therefore said I, the Philistines will come down now upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made Supplication unto the Lord: I forced myself therefore, and offered a Burnt-offering.* And this is likewise true of Hymns and Doxologies, as appears from *2 Chron. xxix. 27.*

St. Cyprian calls the Present sent unto him in his Exile a Sacrifice, *Ep. 59.* as it proceeded from a charitable and benevolent Disposition; and the communicating an Infant after Baptism, he called offering him up. *Justin Martyr* * in his Answer to the *Jews*, who would deprive the *Christians* of the Benefit of this Text in *Mal. i. 11.* by saying, *That those Sacrifices were not understood of any, which the Gentiles should offer to the God of Israel, but of those which the dispersed Jews should offer to God in all Places where they lived dispersed among the Gentiles; or for their Deliverance from Captivity;* which Sacrifices although they wanted the material Rite, yet in Regard of their Sincerity were more acceptable to God, than those prophaned ones among the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. *"Οτι μεν εν αι ευχαι και ευχαριστι απο των αξιων γενομεναι, τελειας μοναι και ευαγεροι εις τη Θεω Θυσιαι και αυτος Φημι.* And I also affirm, that the Prayers and Thanksgivings made by those that

* In his Dialogue with *Trypho the Jew*, p. 345.

are worthy, are the only perfect and well pleasing Sacrifices unto God †. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith, Καὶ γὰρ ἔειν ἡ Θυσία τῆς Εκκλησίας λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων Ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιώμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἀμα τῆς Θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας πάστης τῷ Θεῷ — Βωμὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀγίου, τὴν δικαιαίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς Θυμίαμα. For the Sacrifice of the Church is a Prayer exhaled from devout Souls, where the Sacrifice together with the Thoughts are revealed unto God. But the Altar truly holy is a righteous Soul, and a Sacrifice from thehce.

So St. *Austin* describes the *Christian* Sacrifice to be *immolare Deo in corpore Christi sacrificum Laudis*. To offer to God in the Body of Christ the Sacrifice of Praise.

We have no Sacrifices properly so called in the New Testament, nor do those Scriptures make mention of any but figurative in proper Sacrifices, except that one of Christ upon the Cross; for when he abolished the whole ceremonial Law, and Religion in their Stead himself (1 *John* iii. 5.) was manifested to be our great Sin-offering †. The Substance signified by those Types under the Law; so that there was then no farther Occasion for any Sacrifice for Sin.

It being impossible that the Blood of Bulls, and

† Lib. i. *Contra Adversar. Legis & Prophet.* Cap. 20.

† St. *Ambrose*, *Umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio veritas in Cœlestibus*. *Ante Agnus offerrebatur & vitulus, nunc Christus offertur quasi homo. Quasi recipiens passionem, & offert seipsum quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra demittat; hic in imagine ibi veritate; ubi apud patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit.* A Shadow in the Law, an Image in the Gospel, Truth in the Heavens. Formerly a Lamb was offered, a Calf was likewise offered; now Christ is offered; but he is offered as a Man, as enduring the Passion; and he offereth himself as a Priest, that he may put away our Sins, here in an Image, there in the Truth, where he intercedes with his Father as our Advocate.

of Goats should take away Sin. *Heb.* xi. 12. *Neither by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, he entered once into the holy Place, having obtained eternal Redemption for us.* His Sacrifice being perfect, need not to be repeated, renewed, or continued, as were those daily under the Law, which had no Virtue to do away Sin, but in and through the meritorious Efficacy of the Lamb of God, slain before the Foundation of the World. *Heb.* vii. 27. We have indeed our spiritual Sacrifices such as are applicatory of the Propitiation made by Jesus Christ once offered, which consist of all the whole Worship of the New Testament, *Rom.* xii. 1. *1 Pet.* ii. 5, 9. The Conversion and Sanctification of the Elect of God. *Psalm cxli.* Prayers. *Heb.* v. 7, 13, 15. *Apoc.* v. 8. vii. 34. Preaching the Gospel. *Rom.* xv. 16. Alms Deeds, *Pbil.* iv. 18. Faith, *Pbil.* ii. 17. Martyrdom; with some others of the like Nature. And how much these are preferable to the other Sacrifices of the Jews or Gentiles, the ancient Writers take frequent occasion to mention.

Justin Martyr (retorting the Calumny of Atheism and Impiety wherewith the Jews and Pagans endeavour to slander our ho'y Religion, for want of those external Sacrifices of wh ch their Religion consisted)

|| This Doctrine is expessed by *Milton* very elegantly.

————— That when they see
Law can discover Sin, but not remove,
Save by those shadowy Expiations weak,
The Blood of Bulls and Goats they may conclude
Some Blood more precious must be paid for Man;
Just for unjust: that in such Righteousnes,
To them by Faith imputed, they may find
Justification towards God, and Peace
Of Conscience; which the Law by Ceremonies
Cannot appease, nor Man the moral Part
Perform ————— *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. Line 291.
says,

says, *Ω τῆς ἐμβούλησίας ἀνθρώπες ἀκολάσει, Θεὺς εἰς τὸ προσκυνέσθαι πλάσσειν λέγεσθαι καὶ μεταποεῖν καὶ τῶν ιερῶν ἐνθαλίθενται φύλακας Τοιότας καθισάνται μὴ συνορῶντας ἀθεμίτον καὶ τὸ νοῦν ἢ λέγεντα ἀνθρώπες Θεῶν ἔνται φύλακας. ἀλλ᾽ ἐδεσθαι τῆς παρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσφορᾶς προεστήντημεν· τὸν Θεὸν, αὐτὸν παρεχούτα πάντα ὄρώντες ἐκέντειν; διε προσδέχεσθαι αὐτὸν μόνον δεδιδάγμεθα, καὶ πεπέσμεθα, καὶ πιστεύομεν. Τὸς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ μημέντες· σωρροστάντιν, καὶ δικαιοστάντιν, καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ὅστα οἰκεία Θεῷ ἐστὶ τῷ μηδενὶ ὄντιματι θετῷ παλεύειν.

Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. p. 58. “ O the most astonishing Stupidity of Men, who form and trans-form Gods, to worship them, and appoint Keepers of those Temples where they are placed, not foreseeing, that it is unlawful either to say or to think that Men should be Keepers of the Gods ”

We have learned that God needs not any material * Oblation from Men, seeing, that he bestows all things. But we have been instructed, that he only accepts those (of which, therefore, we are persuaded and firmly believe) who imitate those Virtues which are peculiar to him, to wit, Pru-

* Mr. Pfaffius has observed, that the Hebrew Word for Oblation is different from that, for θυσία, sacrifice, by which he understands *Holocaustum*, an Holocaust or Burnt-sacrifice. Πάζ, Saboeb, or Πλίγ, Aulach, and for Oblation, Κνήκη, Minchah. Fragmenta Anecdota, 116, 135. p. 236, 237.

With whom Theophylact agrees, on chap. viii. to the *Hebreos*, p. 949 θυσία γαρ κυρίως παρὰ τὸ θύεσθαι ὁ ἔστι θυμιᾶσθαι. For a Sacrifice is principally derived from θύεσθαι, which is suffi, to perfume, *odores incendo*, to burn Incense. Again by no Reason a Sacrifice of the Eucharist can be concluded; for if it be an Holocaust, where, I pray, is the Mactation of the Host to be offered, the burning and consuming it upon the Altar, and the Effusion and Sprinkling of the Blood? But an unbloody Holocaust is to say στὸν ὄντος ξύλον, an Iron Piece of Wood. If you call it an Oblation rather, where is that Part which is burnt with Incense and offered upon the Altar?

dence,

dence, Justice, and Philanthropy, Benevolence, and whatsoever are the peculiar Attributes of the true God.

Therefore the Ancients in all their Apologies for the Christians, when the *Jews* and *Pagans* objected against their Religion, that they had no Oblations, or Sacrifices, did not go about to convert them, by denying the Charge, or by asserting that they had ; which, if there were any in the Christian Religion, would have been the principal Means of converting their Adversaries : On the contrary, we find them every where opposing to the *Jewish* and *Pagan* Sacrifices, either the Sacrifice of the Cross, or, the spiritual Sacrifices of Prayer, Praises and Thanksgivings ; and, in a Word, every good Work, acceptable and pleasing unto God through Christ ; for indeed they thought of no other but those already mentioned.

When *Celsus* objected, that the Christians had no Sacrifice, or Altar, *Origen* did not go about to convince him, but on the contrary, answers, that since they had no Altars, consequently they could have no Sacrifice properly so called ; his Words are as follow : Lib. viii. *contra Cels.* p. 386. Μελα` ταῦτα δὲ κελσῷ φησὶν ἡμᾶς Βωρᾶς καὶ αὐγάλματα καὶ νέως ιδρύσαι φύγειν, ἐπὶ τὸ τίσον ἡμῖν αὐτανῆς, καὶ αὐτορρήτως κοινωνίας δημιαὶ εἶναι σύνθεμα ἐχ ὁρῶν, ὅτι Βωροὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἵκαξε τῶν δικαίων πύγεμονικὸν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐταπέμπεται αὐληθῶς καὶ νοντῶς ἐνώδη Θυμιάματα, προσευχαὶ αὐτὸς συνειδίσεως καὶ θαρρῖς. Διὸ λέγει παρα` τῷ ιωάννῃ ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψῃ. Ταὶ δὲ Θυμιάματα εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἀγίων.

Celsus saith, that we avoid the Dedication of Altars, Statues and Temples, that we may establish, as he thinks, a certain Token which we have of an unutterable Covenant, and feeth not that the chief Altar of every just Man among us is within himself, from whence he sends forth truly and intellectually,

tellectually, sweet Savour and Incense, Prayers from a pure Conscience. Therefore he saith by St. John in the *Revelation*, the Incense are the Prayers of the Saints.

And when Julian the Apostate, in railing against the Christians, charges them with neglecting the Sacrifices, St. Cyril of *Alexandria*, who answers his Objections, does not in the least deny the Fact, but on the contrary says, *De recta fide*, p. 160. That as our Lord, although he took upon him the Form of a Servant, remained God by Nature, so he had innumerable Hosts of Angels, in Heaven, who offered to him Hymns and Praises; that is, spiritual and unbloody Sacrifices, but mentions no other kind which were offered to him as God. His Words are,

‘Ως πὲ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τὴν φύσιν κίνησθαι ὄν, μεμένηκεν ὅπερ
τὸ καὶ εἰ γίγονεν ἐν τῇ τε δέλε μορφῇ ὅτῳ φαμὲν, ὅτι καὶ
τοι μερίσες ἔχων ἐν εργασίαις τὰς ἱερογεγοῦσις αὐτῷ τὰς νοητὰς
δηλονότι καὶ αναιμάτις Θυσίας, ἴμνες καὶ δέξιογίας.

“ And as being by Nature Lord, he remained
“ what he was although he took upon him the
“ Form of a Servant; so we assert, that he had
“ Thousands ministering unto him, offering unto
“ him intellectual and unbloody Sacrifices, to wit,
“ Hymns and Praises, the only Sacrifices, there-
“ fore, which he requires.”

And one *Athenagoras*, who had been an *Athenian* Philosopher, but afterwards converted to Christianity, became an eloquent Apologist for the Christians, p. 13. of a Treatise of his, entitled, Πρεσβεία πρὸς χριστιανῶν. “ An Ambassy concerning the Christians,” lets us know, that in the holy Religion of the Christians he understands no external and visible, but only an internal and invisible Sacrifice, the Admiration of the wonderful Works of God.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολοὶ τῶν ἐπικαλόυντων ἡμῖν τὸν αἰθέατην, οὐ
συναρπάζει τὸν ἔστι Θεὸν ἐγνωκότες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ αἰθεώρητοι οὐλεῖς τῷ
φυσικῷ καὶ τῷ Θεολογικῷ λογῷ μετέργητες τὸν ἐνσέβειαν Σο-
σίων νόμῳ, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταῖς πολοῖς,
Θεὸς ἄγειν. Σκέψαστέ μοι, ἀνοκράτορες, ὅδε περὶ ἐκπο-
ρων, καὶ πρωτόνυμε περὶ τὸ μὴ θύειν. Οὐ τέδε τῷ παντῷ
δημιουργῷ καὶ πατήρ, καὶ δεῖται αἴρατῷ γένε οὐκονός, οὐδὲ
τῆς απὸ τῶν αἰνθῶν καὶ Θυμιαμάτων ἐυωδίας, αὐτῷ ἡ
τελεία ἐυωδία, αἰνενδεῖς καὶ ἀπροσδεῖς. Αὐλαὰ Θυσία μη-
μεγίση, ἀν γινώσκωμεν τὶς ἔξετενε καὶ σὺν εσφαίρωσε τὶς
κέραντες, καὶ τὴν γὴν κέντες δίκην ἱδραστε, τὶς συνήγαγε τὸ
ὑδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας, καὶ διέκρινε τὸ φῶς απὸ τῷ σκότῳ, τὶς
ἐκόσμησεν ἀσροῖς τὸν αἰθέρα, καὶ ἐποίησε πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν
γῆν αὐτοβάλλειν, τὶς ἐποίησε γῆν, καὶ αὐτῷ ποτον ἐπικαστον.
Οἴλαν ἔχοντες τὸν δημιουργὸν Θεὸν συνίχοντα καὶ ἐπεπλεύ-
χεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ποιας ἔτι χρείαν ἐκαλέμβοντος ἔχειν.

“ Seeing that many of those who accuse us of
“ Atheism, are Men which have not themselves the
“ least Knowledge of God; and which is more,
“ they are Men ignorant and void of all Knowledge
“ either of God or Nature but judge of Piety
“ from the Rites of Sacrifices, and accusing us
“ with not worshipping the same Gods with many
“ Cities. Attend to me, ye Rulers, concerning
“ both Accusations. And first concerning that
“ wherein we are accused for not offering Sacri-
“ fices. The Builder and Father of the Uni-
“ verse needs not Blood or Fat, or any sweet
“ Scent of Flowers and Incense, himself being the
“ most perfect of Savours, needing nothing nor
“ desiring any thing which he hath not. But the
“ great Sacrifice due to him is, that we should
“ acknowledge him who expanded and formed
“ the Heavens into a G'obe, who established the
“ Earth, who gathered the Waters together in
“ the Seas, and distinguished the Light from
“ Dark-

“ Darkness, who bespeckled the Sky with Stars,
 “ and made all Seed to overspread the Earth, who
 “ made the Animals, and created Man; having
 “ therefore a God the Creator, (who comprehends
 “ and beholds all Things with his Knowledge and
 “ Skill,) by which he directs all Things; if we
 “ lift up holy Hands to him, what Occasion then
 “ hath he with the Multitudes of Sacrifices ? ”

To the same Purpose is the following Passage of *Justin Martyr*, which is as follows :

Ἄθεοι μὲν ὡς ἐκ ἐσμὲν, τὸν δημερογὸν τῷδε τῷ παντῷ
 σεβόμενοι, ἀνευδεῖ αἱματῶν καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ Θυμιαμάτων,
 ἃ ἐδιδάχθημεν, λέγοντες, μογῷ ἐυχῆς καὶ ἐυχαρισίας, ἐφ’
 οὐς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις ἀνεντει, μόνην αἰγίαν
 ἀντὶ τιμὴν παραλαβόντες τὸ τὰ ἵππαντας ἐις διαλοροφὴν
 γενόμενα καὶ πυρὶ διαπανῶν ἀλλα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις
 προσφέρειν, ἔκεινω δὲ ἐυχαρίστας ὄντας, διὰ λόγου πομπάς καὶ
 πυρὸς πέμπειν, ὑπέρει τῷ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἐις ἐυρωσίαν πό-
 γον πάντων, ποιητὴν μὲν γενῶν καὶ μεταβολῶν ὡρῶν καὶ
 τῆ πάλιν ἐν ἀρθασσίᾳ γενέσθαι διὰ πιστεύν τὸν ἐν ἀυτῷ αι-
 τῆσις πέμποντες, τὶς σωρρωνῶν ἐχ ὄμολογότες.

“ Therefore we are not Atheists, since we wor-
 “ ship the Builder of this whole World, who, as
 “ we have been taught, needs no Blood Libations
 “ or Sacrifices of Incense, being fully persuaded,
 “ that it is an Honour due only unto him; that
 “ by way of Prayers and Thanksgivings in all the
 “ Sacrifices which we offer, to the uttermost of
 “ our Power we should praise him; that we should
 “ not consume with Fire those Things which are
 “ created by him for our Nourishment but be-
 “ stow them to ourselves, and to such as are in
 “ Necessity; and being thankful offer to him our
 “ rational Hymns and spiritual Songs, for our be-
 “ ing born and for all Things which conduce to
 “ our Health for the Generations of Creatures
 “ and the Vicissitudes of the Seasons and for that

“ we shall again be begotten to Incorruption ; who
 “ that is wise will not confess that we ought to of-
 “ fer up our Supplications thro’ Faith in him.”

Justin Martyr speaks likewise of Holocausts, Burnt-offerings, and Oblations, as of such Commands and Statutes that were not good, and such whereof God hath no need, being given the Jews to keep them clear from the superstitious Worship of the Heathens ; for thus he speaks in the Words of the Prophet *Amos*, Chap. v. 21. Μεμιστειχ,
 ἀπώρματα τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐ μὴ ὀσφεανθῶ ἐν ταῖς ω-
 μηγύρεσιν ὑμῶν. *I hate, I despise your Feast-Days : and*
I will not smell in your solemn Assemblies. Verse 22.
 Ὄτι ἐὰν ἐνέγκητέ μοι τὰ ὄλοκανθάματα δὲ τὰς Θυσίας ὑμῶν
 ἐπειδήξομαι αὐτὰ, δὲ σωτηρίος ἐπιφανείας ὑμῶν, ἐκ ἐπ-
 βλεψομαι.

*Though ye offer me Burnt-offerings, and your Meat-
 offerings, I will not accept them, neither will I re-
 gard the Peace-offerings of your fat Beasts.* Ver. 23.
 Ἀποστρέπον ἀπὸ εμοῦ πλῆθος ὀδῶν σα, καὶ φαλμῶν ὁργι-
 νῶν σα ἐπειδήξομαι. *Take thou away from me the*
Noise of thy Songs, for I will not bear the Melody of
thy Viols. Ver. 24. *But let Judgment run down as*
Water, and Righteousness as a mighty Stream. Then
 he cites Psal. xl. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. and proceeds to
 magnify the spiritual Sacrifices of Praise, of Pray-
 ers and Thanksgivings, in Comparison to which
 all other Sacrifices are but mean, he says, and worth-
 less in the Sight of God, To which Purpose he
 cites almost all the Fiftieth Psalm.

Οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς Θυσίαις σα ἐλεῖσωτε τὰ διὰ ὄλοκανθάματα
 σα ἐνώπιον με ἐστι διαπαντός. Οἱ δέξομαι ἐπὶ δίκαιωσίσθε σα
 σαχες, βοὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ποιμάνων σα χιμάρρες ὅτι ἐμὰ ἐστι παντα
 τὰ θηρία τῆς ἀγράς, κλήνη ἐντοῖς ὄρεσι δὲ βόες — Θύσοι τῷ
 Θεῷ Συστανδίνεσεως, καὶ ἀπέδοτε τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς ἐυχὰς σα.

*I will not reprove thee because of thy Sacrifices, thy
 Burnt-offerings are not always before me. I will take*

no Bullocks out of thine House, nor He-Goats out of thy Folds ; for every Beast of the Forest is mine, and the Cattle upon a thousand Hills.

I should now proceed, in the fourth and last Place, to shew more particularly what are those spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God thro' Christ. But lest I should trespass too much upon your Patience, I have reserved that for two separate Discourses, and at present cannot more appositely conclude than with the following Collect.

Second Sunday after Easter.

A Lmighty God, who hast given thine only Son to be unto us both a Sacrifice for Sin, and also an Example of godly Life ; Give us Grace that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable Benefit, and also daily endeavour our selves to follow the blessed Steps of his most holy Life, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I. As to MEATS and DRINKS.

WHAT we have shewn from the Law of Sacrifices, the same also we may prove of that, whereby certain Sorts or Kinds of Meats are forbidden. Therefore it is certain that after the universal Deluge, there was given of God to *Noah*, and his Posterity, a Right of using any sort of Food; which Right in like Sort passed over, not only to *Japhet*, and *Ham*, but also *Shem*, and his Posterity *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*. But afterwards, when the People in *Egypt*, were stained with the vile Superstition of that Nation, then God first of all forbade the eating some kinds of Animals, either because the *Egyptians* especially offered them to their Gods, and from them made Divination, or because in that Typical Law by certain Kinds of Animals certain Vices of Men were distinguished: But that these Precepts were not universal, appears by the Example of what is ordained concerning the Flesh of the Beast which died of itself; that it was not lawful for the *Israelites* to eat of it, but it was lawful for Strangers, to which Strangers the *Jews* were commanded to perform all good Offices, as being esteemed of God. The Passage is in *Deut.* xiv. 21. the Words in the original *Hebrew*, are as follow,

אַתָּה אָכֹל כָּל־נַבְלָה לְגַדֵּר אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁרְעֵץ
תְּנַנֵּה וְאֶכְלָה וְאַפְּכָר לְנָכְרִי כִּי עִם קָדוֹשׁ אַתָּה לִזְהֹה
אַל־תְּאַכֵּל אֶת־בָּשָׂרְךָ
&c.

Quicquid autem morticinum est, ne vescamini ex eo: peregrino,, qui intra portas tuas est, da ut comedat, aut vende ei: quia tua populus sanctus Dominus Dei tui es. Non coques boedum in latte matris suæ. Ye-“ shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: “ thou shalt give it unto the Stranger that is in “ thy

“ thy Gates, that he may eat it, or thou mayest sell it unto an alien: for thou art an holy People unto the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a Kid in his Mother’s Milk.” Also the Ancient Hebrew Masters openly put in Writing, and in the Times of the Messias, the Law concerning forbidden Meats would cease, and Flesh of a Swine would be no less pure than an Ox’s. And certainly, since God would gather to himself one out of all People, it was more reasonable that he should make Liberty common, in such Things, than Bondage. And though all Food be the Gift of God, yet in the following Passage, there is a particular Distinction of what is called the Bread of God, in the *Old Testament*.

וְנִיחַד בָּזְבָד נְכָד לֹא תִקְרִיבוּ אֶת־לְחֵם אֱלֹהִיכֶם כְּבָלָה. אֱלֹהָ כִּי מְשֻׁחָתֶם בְּהָם כִּיּוֹם נְמָה לֹא יָצַע וְלֹא תִּנְמַתָּ: *Lev. xxiii. 25.*

De manu alienigenæ non offeretis panes Deo vestro, & quicquid aliud dare voluerit: quia corrupta, & maculata sunt omnia, non suscipietis ea. “ Neither from a Stranger’s Hand shall ye offer the Bread of your God of any of these; because their Corruption is in them, and Blemishes be in them: they shall not be accepted for you.”

2. NEW MOONS and SABBATHS.

Now followeth an oversight of Festival Days. These altogether were instituted in Memory of the Benefits received from God, when the People were delivered from the *Egyptian* Calamity, and from thence brought out into the promised Land. But now the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Chap. xvi. xxiii. says, the Time would come, in which new, and much greater Benefits would so shadow the Memory

of this, that there would scarce be any Mention of it.

לֹאֵן הַנָּה יְמִים ۱۴, ۱۵. *Jeremiah*, Chap. xvi. נִאמֵת יְהוָה וְלֹא־יֹאמֶר עוֹד חַיְּהוּ אֲשֶׁר הַעֲלָה אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִאֶרֶץ פְּצָלִים: נִאמֵת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הַעֲלָה אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִאֶרֶץ ۱۵. נִפְנֵן וּמִכָּל הָאָרֶצָּוֹת אֲשֶׁר הַדִּיחָם שְׁמוֹ וְהַשְׁבָּתָם עַל־אָרְתָּמָתָם אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לָאָבוֹתָם: -

Propterea ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus, & non dicitur ultrà.

Vivit Dominus, qui eduxit filios Israel de terra Aegypti: sed vivit Dominus, qui eduxit filios Israel de terra Aquilonis, & de universis terris ad quas ejeci eos: & reducam eos in terram suam, quam dedi patribus eorum.

“ Therefore behold, the Days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be said, “ The Lord liveth that brought up the Children of Israel out of the Land of Egypt: But, The Lord liveth that brought up the Children of Israel from the Land of the North, and from all the Lands whither he had driven them: and I will bring them again into their Land that I gave unto their Fathers.”

Then truly what even now we have said of Sacrifices, is true also of Festival Days, also the People began so much to confide in them, as if they being rightly observed, what they offended concerning the rest, could not be accounted great. Whence in *Isaiah* Chap. i. God saith, he despiseth their Calends and Festival Days, and they are such a Burthen to him, that he can scarce bear them. Of the Sabbath it is wont particularly to be objected, a Command is universal and continual; as not given to one People, but in the very Beginning of the World to *Adam* the Father of all. I answere, the most learned of the *Hebrews* agreeing, there is a two-

a two-fold Command of the Sabbath, a Command of Remembrance, *Exod. xx. 8.* and a Command of Observation, *Exod. xxxi. 13.*

Exod. xx. 8. זכור אם יום השבת לקדשו :

Exod. xxxi. 13. ואתת דבר אל-בנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל לאמֶר :

אֶذ אֶת-שְׁאָתָה תִּשְׁמַרְוּ כִּי-אָתָה הוּא בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶיכֶם :

Memento ut diem Sabbathi sanctifices.

Loquere filiis Israel, & dices ad eos, Videte ut Sabbathum meum custodiatis : quia signum est inter me & vos in generationibus vestris ; ut sciatis quia ego Dominus, qui sanctifico vos.

“ Remember the Sabbath-Day, to keep it holy..

“ Speak thou also unto the Children of Israel,

“ saying, Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep : for

“ it is a Sign between me and you, throughout

“ your Generations ; that ye may know that I am

“ the Lord, that doth sanctify you.”

A Command of Remembrance is fulfilled in the religious Memory of the World made ; a Command of Observation is placed in exact refraining from all other Labour. That first Command was given from the Beginning, and without doubt pious Men before the Law, *Enoch, Noe, Abram, Isaac, Jacob* obeyed it ; of which latter though we read of their many Travellings, thence no Sign of their Journey being any where discontinued by reason of the Sabbath, which after the going forth out of *Egypt* you may continually find. For after the People brought forth out of *Egypt*, and happily having passed over the Red Sea, they lived the first Day a quiet Sabbath, and on the same sung a Song of Triumph to God ; from that Time that exact Rest of the Sabbath is commanded ; the first Mention of which is in the gathering of Manna.

Exod. xxxv. 2. שְׁשָׁת יְמִינָת תַּעֲשֶׂה מְלָאכָה וּבְיּוֹם
הַשְׁבִּיעַ יְהִי לְכֶם קָדֵשׁ שְׁבָתָן לְהֹוֶת כָּל-הַעֲשָׂה

בְּ מְלָאכָה יוֹמָת :

Lev. xxiii. 3.

שְׁשָׁתּוֹ יְמִינָה תַּעֲשֶׂה מְלָאכָה וּבְיוּמָה
הַשְׁבִּיעַ שְׁבַת שְׁבַתּוֹ מִקְרָא־דִּקְרָשׁ כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא תַּעֲשֶׂה :

*Sex diebus facietis opus; septimus dies erit vobis
sanctus, sabbatum & requies Domini: qui fecerit opus
in eo, occidetur.*

*Sex diebus facietis opus: dies septimus quia sabbathi
requies est, vocabitur sanctus: omne opus non faciens
in eo; sabbatum Domini est in cunctis habitationibus
vestris.*

“ Six Days shall Work be done, but the seventh
“ Day is a Sabbath of Rest of the Lord: an Holy
“ Day, whosoever doth Work therein, shall be put
“ to Death.

“ Six Days shall Work be done: but the se-
“ venth Day is the Sabbath of Rest, an Holy Con-
“ vocation; ye shall do no Work therein: it is
“ the Sabbath of the Lord in all your Dwellings.”

And in this Sense the Cause of the Law of the Sabbath is rendered a Deliverance out of Egypt; moreover in that Law it was consulted for Servants against Hardness of Masters, having regard for no Passage of Breath for them from Labours; as one may see in the Places spoken of. It is true, from this Law Strangers were bound fast, because, to wit, one Sight ought to be of a whole People being still. But yet to other People that this Law of exact Rest was not given, even at least appears from hence, because in many Places it is called a Sign, and also a special League or Covenant between God and the *Israelites*.

וְאַתָּה דָּבָר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 16. Exod. xxxi. 13,
לֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁבַתְיִה תִּשְׁמְרוּ כִּי אֹתָהּ חֹזֶה בְּיוּם וּבְיֹמָתְכֶם
לֹרְתִיכֶם לְדִיעָת כִּי אֵין יְהוָה מַקְדְּשָׁכֶם :
עֲשָׂרֶת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־דִּחְשָׁבָת לְעֶשֶׂת אֶת־דִּחְשָׁבָת 16.

לֹדוּתֶם בְּרִית עָלָם :

Loquere filii Israel, & dices ad eos, Videte ut sabbatum meum custodiatis: quia signum est inter me &

vos in generationibus vestris : ut sciatis quia ego Dominus, qui sanctifico vos.

Custodiant filii Israel sabbatum, & celebrant illud in generationibus suis.

“ Speak thou also unto the Children of *Israel*, saying, Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep : for it is a Sign between me and you, throughout your generations ; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you.

“ Wherefore the Children of *Israel* shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Covenant.”

Now truly those Things which were instituted in Memory of a going forth out of *Egypt* were not such, that they ought never to cease, now we have proved above, from the Promise of much greater Benefit. Add that, if the Law of Rest of the Sabbath, had been given from the Beginning, and in that Sense, that it could not be taken away, truly that Law would have prevailed in a Combat of other Laws, which now contrariwise hath itself ; for it is manifest, Infants were rightfully circumcised on the Sabbath, as like as both while the Temple stood Victims were no less killed on the Sabbaths, than on other Days. The *Hebrew* Masters themselves prove the Mutability of this Law, when they say, at the Command of a Prophet Work may be well done on the Sabbath ; which they prove by the Example of *Jericho* taken, on the Sabbath Day, by the Command of *Joshua*. But in the Times of the Messias the Difference of Days would be taken away, some of them not badly shew from the Place of *Isaiah*, lxvi. 23. where it is foretold, there would be a continual Worship of God from Sabbath to Sabbath, from New Moon to New Moon.

זהו מורייחר שבחרשו ומיד שבת *Isaiah lxvi. 23.*
 נשבתו יבוא כל בשר להשתחות לפני אמר יהוה:
Numb. xxviii. 9. ניומ השבת שני-כבשים בני-שנה:
 חמיטם ושני עשרנים סלת מנחה בלולה בשמן ונasco:
Et erit mensis ex mense, & sabbathum ex sabbatho:
veniet omnis caro, ut adoret coram facie mea, dixit Dominus.

*Die autem Sabbathi offeretis duos agnos anniculos
 immaculatos, & duas decimas similae oleo conspersae in
 sacrificio, & liba.*

“ And it shall come to pass, that from one New-
 moon to another, and from one Sabbath to an-
 other, shall all Flesh come to worship before me,
 “ faith the Lord.

“ And on the Sabbath Day, two Lambs of the
 “ first Year without Spot, and two Tenth-deals of
 “ Flour for a Meat-offering mingled with Oil, and
 “ the Drink-offering thereof.”

C H A P. IV.

Of the Original Descent of the HEATHEN DEITIES; the Unreasonableness of Worshipping them; of good and bad Angels in general; of the Excellence of the Christian Religion, in Opposition to all Others; where it is proved, that it was Taught every where, in single Precepts, by the wiser Heathens before Christianity.

I COR. x. 14.

Dearly Beloved, flee from Idolatry. 16. The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ? 18. Behold Israel after the Flesh. Are not they which eat the Sacrifices, Partakers of the * Altar? 19. What say I then? that the Idol is any thing, or that which is offered in Sacrifice to Idols is any thing? 20. But I say, that the Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with Devils, 21. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: ye cannot be Partaker of the Lord's Table, and the Table of Devils.

THESE Words are Part of St. Paul's Discourse to the *Corinthians*, wherein he exhorts them not to partake in any idolatrous Service, nor approve

* There was by the *Greeks* and *Latins* both a real and nominal Distinction, observed between the Table of the Lord and the Table or Altar of Devils. For as the former always called the Table or Altar of the Lord by the Name Θυσιαστήριον, and

approve thereof by their Presence at the Feasts in the Idols Temples ; because the same Gifts or Oblations which were offered by the Jews, by their Priests and Levites to God, and by the Christians to the Ministers of the Gospel for their Maintenance, or other * Altar Offerings, for the Worship and Service of the true God ; the same were likewise offered by the Pagans for the Support of Idolatry : And as in so doing they did Service to those who by Nature were no Gods ; so the Effects of both Services were so very different, that the partaking of one, was a certain Proof of an absolute Unfitness in the Worshipper to partake of the other.

and the *Latins*, Altare ; so the Altar or Table of Devils was by the *Greeks* called *Bωμοὶ Βομοὶ*, and by the *Latins* Arae.

Chrysostom's Words are, ἀιματῷ ἐπὶ Θυμεῖς μη τὸν τὸν ἐιδώλων Βωμὸν ἀλόγων Φόνῳ ἀλλα τὸ Θυσιαστήρον ἐμὲ τὸ ἐρῶ Φοινίσσε αἱματὶ.

* If thou desirest Blood, make not the *Bωμὸν*, or Altar of Idols fat with the Blood of Brutes, but make mine Altar fat with mine. *Orig. Cont. Cels. Lib. 8. p. 386.*

Κέλσος Φησινημάς, Βωμὸς, Καὶ αγάματα, Κατεύθιστας Φύγεν. *Celsus* faith, that we shun making Altars, Statues, and Shrines.

For the *Latin* Appellation, see *St. Austin, Hom. 6. De verbis Domini nam quod numen habeant et pro numine accipient ista statuam ara testatur.* For the Altar testifieth they have and esteem that Statue as a Deity.

As to the real Distinction, it consisted in this, that as the Altars of the Lord were the Tables where the Sacrifices were offered to the supreme only true God ; the Altars or Tables of Devils were *Scabella Sculptilium & suggeſta Simulacrorum*.

Forms for carved Images, and Pulpits, or Footstools of Idols, as may be proved from 2 *Chron. xxxiv. 4* where it is said, *That Josiah caused the Altars of Baalaim to be broken down, and the Images that were on high above them.*

So *St. Austin* again, *Epist. vi. c. 4. Quasi post aras Diaboli, accedere ad Altare Dei fas sit.* As if it were reasonable from the Altars of the Devil to approach the Altar of God.

For the different Effects of partaking of both Tables, or the Sacrifices offered up on them, were the holding Fellowship with the true God, in Opposition to the holding Fellowship with Devils. The Design of the Apostle is to shew, that the *Corinthians* could not partake of the Idol Sacrifices in the Temples, without being *Kοινωνοι τῶν δαιμονίων*, Partakers of Devils. The Proof of this is from the Practice of the *Corinthians*, in partaking of the Eucharist, and of the Jews in partaking their Sacrifices at the Altar.

Behold Israel after the Flesh, &c. i. e. Consider by Way of Illustration, how it is with the present Jews, who are the Church of God only by natural Birth, and carnal Propagation. Are not they which eat of the Sacrifices *, Partakers of the Altar? They join in the Worship there performed, and own that God there worshipped; so by eating of Idol Sacrifices in Idol Temples, you join in Idol Worship. Yet he did not make the Idol have any thing of Divinity in it, so as to be able to alter God's Creatures, as to the Substance of them; made either better or worse, or to differ from ordinary Meat by this being offered to Idols. Ver. 9. *What say I then? that the Idol is any thing, or that which is offered in Sacrifice to Idols is any thing?* But I say, though I grant the Idol is nothing, as you alledge in your own Defence; yet those Spirits that sometimes dwell with those Idols, and give Answers from them, are something; and they are most wicked and unclean Spirits (whatever they are taken for) defiling every thing that has any relation to them. Ver. 20. *That the Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with Devils.*

* Feast upon the Remainders of the Sacrifices offered upon the Altar.

Though

Though he did not mean, that by being Partakers of the Table, or Altar of Devils, any Benefits could accrue to the Worshippers; or that they could be any other than evil Spirits, or the Souls of Men deified or canonized after Death *: yet he intended to shew, that by paying Worship to these dumb Idols, and offering them Sacrifices, though they were nothing in themselves, as to any Power which they could have to save or to destroy, v. 19. yet they thereby paid Worship to those Dæmons which were supposed to reside in those Idols: so that the Worshippers were, according to the Opinion of divine Writers, greatly polluted by them, and by becoming subject to the Influences of evil Spirits, rendered unfit Worshippers of the true God.

From which Texts I shall discourse upon the following Particulars.

I. A short Account of the original Descent of the Heathen Deities, and their Worship.

II. The Absurdity and Unreasonableness of worshipping them.

III. The Excellency of the Christian Religion. And,

IV. Conclude with an Exhortation or two proper for all Christians, from the Consideration of what shall have been said.

I. A short Account of the original Descent of the Heathen Deities, and of their Worship.

* That their Dæmons were the Souls of dead Men, whom they mourned, and offered Sacrifice to them, appears from sundry Texts of Scripture, in particular from *Pal.* cvi. 28. *Numb.* xxv. 2, 3. *Is.* viii. 19. Should not a People seek unto their God, for the Living to the Dead? *Deut.* xxxii. 17.

There are two different Accounts concerning the Descent of these Deities ; the Poetical or mythological and Historical *. The former supposeth their

* This we have delivered by *Milton* in the First Book of his *Paradise Lost*, where he gives an Account of their Names in a long Catalogue : The Lines whereof are as follow :

First, *Molech*, horrid King, besmear'd with Blood
Of human Sacrifice, and Parents Tears,

— *Him the Ammonite*

Worship'd in *Rabba*,

— *The wisest Heart*

Of *Solomon* he led by Fraud to build

His Temple right against the Temple of *God*,

Next *Chemos*, th' obscene Dread of *Moab*'s Son :

With these came they, who from the bord'ring Flood
— *had general Names*

3 Of *Baalm* and *Astartoth* ; those Male,
These Feminine.

— *With these in Troop*

4 Come *Astoreth*, whom the *Phænicians* call'd
Astarte, Queen of Heav'n, with crescent Horns.

5 *Thammuz* came next behind.

— *Next came one*,

6 *Dagon* his Name, Sea-monster ! upward Man,
— *and downward Fish.*

7 *Him follow'd Rimmon* —

After these appear'd

8 *Osiris*, *Ijis*, *Orus*, and their Train —

9 *Belial* came last —

Those were the Prime in Order and in Might :

The rest were long to tell. —

— *Titan*, Heav'n's first-born,

With his enormous Brood, and Birthright seiz'd

By younger *Saturn* : He from mightier *Jove*

(His own and *Rhea*'s Son) like Measure found, &c.

Parad. Lost, lib. i. line 511, &c.

Here I may observe again, that *Milton* so far agrees with the Accounts given us by the Heathen Writers, that he supposes with them different degrees of Power and Dignity among the Deities, only herein he differs from them, that he distinguishes *Saturn* from *Molech*, and placeth him in a lower Order, whom some

their first Settlement upon the Earth to have been after their Expulsion out of Heaven for their Crimes of Rebellion, that they might found a Kind of Empire there *, and exercise a Sovereignty in Opposition to the Power of Heaven, though it was only by the Sufferance of the Almighty Power, for the Trial of Man; so that Idolatry first getting Foot among the Gentiles, soon spread itself among the Jews †, and corrupted them from the Worship and Service of the only true God, to sacrifice to, and worship Devils, and to set up Altars and Temples in Opposition to his.

The historical and scriptural Account, somewhat different from this, is, that the Mind of Man having, through Folly, Perverseness and Ignorance, fallen from the Worship of the true and only God ‡, through vain Fear and Superstition, framed to themselves an innumerable Company of Deities, after they had for many Ages preserved the Notion of one pure intelligent Being, invisible and incom-

some Authors imagine to be the same with him. See Dr. King's historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. 17. Mr. Mead accounts him the same with *Baal*, p. 776. neither did they imagine *Moloch* and *Baal* to be of the Prime in Order and in Might as Milton does, but of inferior Order. Ib. p. 773, 774.

* See Book the First, 361, &c.

† For these the Race of *Israel* oft forsook
Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous Altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial Gods, for which their Heads as low
Bow'd down in Battle. — — —

Paradise Lost, lib. i. p. 432

So Line 380.

The Chief were those who from the Pit of Hell,
Roaming to seek their Prey on Earth durst fix
Their Seats long after next the Seat of God;
Their Altars by his Altar.

|| See Dr. King's Preface to his History of the Heathen Gods.

prehensible;

prehensible; that were two different Orders of Deities, the one superior to the other, called Θεοὶ, Gods, *Dii Superi*, cœlestia Gods; to wit, the Sun, Moon, and Stars; according to the Scripture Languages צבָא הַשְׁמִינִי the Host of Heaven, whether visible or invisible. Another inferior Sort of deified Powers, called *Dæmons*; these are styled *Baalim*, Lords; and were Souls of Men deified or canonized after Death, with which they supposed their graven and molten Images to have been informed. These they reckoned to have been a middle Sort, between the Sovereign Gods and mortal Men*: And that all Things were transacted by the Will, Power, and Authority of superior Gods; but withal by the Service and Ministry of those inferior Gods. These they distinguished from the molten Image themselves, and called them Θεοὶ ὁδυγρέοι, i. e. Lamented Gods; and where the molten Images are confounded with them, as in *Hos.* xiii. 2. *And now they sin more and more, and have made them molten Images of their Silver, Idols according to their own Understanding, all of it the Works of the Craftsmen: They say of them, let the Men that sacrifice kiss the Calves.* It

* Πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ Θεῶν τε καὶ Οὐρανίων. Every Daemon is between a God and a Mortal. *Plato* in *Sympos.* *Tully*, in his second Book *de Legibus*, mentions this Distinction. Let them worship the Gods, both those who were ever accounted cœlestia, and those whom their own Merit have advanced to Heaven. Again, let the Rights of separate Souls be kept inviolable; and let them account the deceased Worthies as Gods. *Rev.* ix. 13, 20.

The Army which St. John saw coming from the great River Euphrates, when he was in *Patmos*, were the *Turkish Invasion*, who destroyed a great Part of the *Roman Territory*, and yet the rest of the Men, &c.

Those here understood to worship δαιμόνια, or Dæmon Gods, must be understood of the *Romans*, Christians who long have worshipped them, as I shall prove hereafter.

is because they were informed, as they supposed with those deified departed Souls.

But there is besides these another Sort of Dæmons, which in the Opinion of their Philosophers, is of a more noble and excellent Nature *, who having been always freed from any Shackles and Fetters of gross Bodies, them they imagined to have been Guardians to Men in their Lives, and Witness to their Actions.

But how different soever these Accounts are, they may yet be in one Point reconciled together; for it is easy to imagine that the Almighty might permit those Spirits who were at their Creation Angels

* See *Apuleius, De Deo Socratis*, whose Words are as follow: *Est et superius alias, Augustius que Dæmonum genus, qui semper à corporis compedibus & nexibus liberi, certis potestatibus procurentur, ex hâc sublimori Dæmonum copiâ autumat Plato, singulis hominibus in vita agendâ testes, & custodes singulos datos.* And there is another superior and august Kind of Dæmons, who always being free from the Ties and Shackles of Bodies, were made much of by certain Powers. From that more sublime Company of Dæmons *Plato* thinks, to every Man in leading his Life Witnesses and Keepers one by one are given.

Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep:
All these with ceaseless Praise his Works behold
Both Day and Night. How often from the Steep
Of echoing Hill, or Thicket, have we heard
Cœlestial Voice to the Midnight Air,
(Sole or responsive to each other's Note)
Singing their great Creator oft in Bands
While they keep Watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heav'nly Touch of Instrumental Sounds
In full harmoniç Numbers joyn'd their Songs,
Divide the Night, and lift our Thoughts to Heav'n.

Paradise Lost, lib iv.

So again,

— For Spirits, when they please,
Can either Sex assume, or both so soft,
And uncompounded is their Essence pure;
Not tied or manacld in Joint or Limb, &c.

of

of Light, to retain a Power, even after their Fall, of working upon the Minds of Mankind in such a Manner as might best serve their own devilish Designs of seducing them to their Party, and making them like themselves *, Children of Hell, which they do, either by suggesting to their Minds † vain Fears

* This is what *Milton* introduces Satan, declaring to be his whole Aim, and the uttermost Scope of all his Wishes. Lib. iv. l. 126.

Nor hope to be myself less miserable
By what I seek, but others to make such
As I, tho' thereby worse to me redound;
For only in destroying I find Ease
To my relentless Thoughts.

This he declared (lib. ii. l. 1039) to be the Design of the Spirits coming into the World from Hell, *viz.*

To tempt and punish Mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by special Grace.

† *Vain Fears.*] The Poet before-mentioned represents Satan as acting upon *Eve* in the Shape of a Toad, whose Words are,

— Him they found,
Squat like a Toad close at the Ear of *Eve*,
Assaying by his devilish Art to reach
The Organs of her Fancy, and by them forge
Illusions as he list, Phantazms and Dreams,
Or if inspiring Venom he might taint
The Animal Spirits, which from pure Blood rise,
Like gentle Breaths from Rivers pure; thence raise
At last distemper'd, discontented Thoughts,
Vain Hopes, vain Aims, inordinate Desires,
Blown up with high Conceits, engend'ring Pride.

Some of which high Conceits, engendering Pride, *Eve* discovers at the Relation of her Dream. Book iv.

The first in the afore-mentioned List is *Moloch*, otherwise *Milcom*. The second *Chemos*, or *Chemosh*. The third *Astoreth*. These are joined together in the Old Testament, as 1 *Kings* ii. 5, 7, 8.

Fears of other Powers, able to save or hurt them; to whom they therefore are to pay religious Worship,

He is called *Peor*, and *Baal Peor*, from *Baal*, the first King of *Babel* after *Nimrod*, whom the *Latins* call *Saturn*, to whom the *Israelites* joined themselves in *Sittim*. *Numb. xx. 3.*

2 Kings xvii. 16. See *c. xviii. 4.* and *xxi. 3, 7.* So *c. xxiii.* It is said, that *Josiah* destroyed all Idolatry, defiling all those Places of idolatrous Worship which *Solomon* and *Manasses* had set up to him. *1 Kings xvii. 31.*

Here we are told, that the *Sepharvaites* burnt their Children by the Name of אֲדִיר מלָך Adir Melech, or *Adramelech*, a mighty King, whom they represented as an evil God, the Original of Mischief, and worshipped him for Fear, as the *Indians* did the Devil, reckoning him to be the Planet *Saturn*. To prevent whose Effects, they also worshipped צָנָן מלָך Anammelech, a Cloud, Protector and Defender from *Moloch*, whom they represented as a good God, the Origin of Blessings, and a happy Genius. See *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, p. 259. As for *Moloch*, he had his Name from מלָך Melech, a King. When they sacrificed their Children they placed them in the Arms of this Image, which was made red hot by Fire in the Inside, on Purpose to receive them, that they might clasp together and hold them fast; and at the same Time did beat upon Tarbets or Drums, that the Cry of the Children might not be heard by their Parents. For this Reason the Place was called תָּפֵת Tophet, from תָּפֵה Toph, a Drum. The Chapels were in Gehinnom and *Gehenna*, that is, the Valley of *Hinnom*; whence the Poet afore-mentioned says,

— — — — — *Tophet* thence,
And black *Gehenna*, call'd the Type of Hell.

And afterwards,

Peor his other Name, when he entic'd
Israel in *Sittim*, on the Banks of the *Nile*,
To do him wanton Rites, which cost them Woe.

He was likewise called *Misraim* and *Osiris*. His Name in Hebrew signifies a Dwelling-place, מְעָן *Mauon*, which was given him as the Founder of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, and the Maker of it more fruitful and habitable. See *Targum Ben Uzziel*, on *Numb. xxxii. 38.*

Baal

ship, or by making them entertain blasphemous and unworthy Notions of the true God, to slight all

Baal Peor signifies the Lord of Nakedness and Obscenity. It is probable that this Name was not given him by any of his Worshippers, but it is often mentioned in Scripture, thereby to render the Image of him more contemptible. St. *Hierom* says it is the same with *Priapus*. He was called likewise *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*. They that have Skill in the oriental Learning know, that by *Thammuz* is meant the Sun. Hence the Month of *June* is called תְּמָמָן *Thammuz*, because the Sun is then in its greatest Height, and the two Tropicks are called תְּקִוְפַּת הַמָּן *Takupath Thammuz*, or the Revolution of *Thammuz*, the Sun; and the Women who were weeping for *Thammuz* (*Ezck.* viii. 14.) were only such who wept for the declining of the Sun as the Winter approached; concerning which the Poet before cited writes the following Lines.

— *Thammuz* came next behind ;
Whose annual Wound in *Lebanon* allur'd
The *Syrian* Damsels to lament his Fate.

The next Goddess mentioned in the foregoing List is *Dagon*. The *Egyptians* worshipped this Goddess under the Form of a Fish, because in *Typhon's* War against the Gods *Venus* concealed herself in this Shape. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* says, that at *Akkelon*, a famous City of the *Philistines*, the Goddess *Dorceto*, or *Atergatis*, was worshipped under the Figure of a Woman, with the lower Part of a Fish; so that *Dagon* was the same as *Venus*.

As for her Descent, the Poetical History supposeth her to have been born of the Sea, and conceived in a great Shell.

There were several of that Name, but one was the same with *Astarte*, married to *Adonis*, mentioned in the foregoing List. She was worshipped in *Paphos*, at which Place, in her Temple, all Sorts of Victims were allowed of if Males. She was called likewise *Mitra*, in whose Rites the Christian Sacrifice of the Lord's Supper was imitated.

To the several *Venus*'s were several Sacrifices offered. A white Goat was offered to *Venus Pandemos*, and a Heifer and Swine to the celestial *Venus*.

The next in the above-mentioned List is *Rimmon*. It is thought that this God is no other than the Sun, and that the Name of *Rimmon* or high, is given to him because of his Elevation.

all his divine Precepts, and give themselves up to be Slaves to the Devil. To this Purpose we find him slandering even God himself, imputing his Prohibition of the Fruit to Envy towards Man. *God, saith he, doth know, that in the Day ye eat thereof, your Eyes shall be open, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil.* So Satan was permitted to act by *Job i. 12. And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold all that he hath is in thy Power, only upon himself put not forth thine Hand.* Our Saviour forewarns St. Peter, and in his Name the other Apostles, *to beware of the Temptations of Satan, who desired to have him that he might sift him as Wheat.* *Luke xxii. 31.* That is, to toss him about with Troubles, thereby to drive him from the Faith. *And he tempted St. Paul by his Messenger, who came to buffet him, 2 Cor. xii. 7. with a Thorn in his Flesh, inflicting some racking Pain on his Body, or Terrors of Conscience, as Means which the Devil, by God's Permission, made use of to afflict him.*

vation. *Grotius* takes it for *Saturn*, because this Planet is the most elevated of all. *Serrarius* believes it to be the Goddess *Venus* (*Calmet*, p. 218.) She was painted with Horns, or a Crescent upon her Forehead. She was Goddess of the Woods, the Moon, the Queen of Heaven, who, as well as *Astarte*, is painted with the Head of an Ox or Heifer, with Horns upon her Head. Concerning which *Lucian* says, *De Deâ Syr ἐμεναι Ἀστρην δέγγε δοκέωσεληνάιαν.* For I suppose *Astarte* is the Moon.

Ham's Wife, she who had been with him in the Ark, was named *Naamah*, i. e. *The Fair one*, the Daughter of *Lamech*, and he changed her Name, and called her *Astarte*, as it is in the Greek; or *תְּשַׁתְּרוֹת שְׁבָתָרָת* *Astartot*, Flocks of Cattle, Sheep, or Goats.

Lucan sufficiently intimates, that he thought *Astarte* and *Eurpa* to be the same Person. And *Bochartus* hath plainly shewn us, that the Word in the *Phœnician Tongue* signifies *λευκοπρόσωπη*, the *White faced, or Fair One*. See *Targum Ben Uzziel*, in *Numb. xxxii. 38.* in *Hebrew חֹר אֶנְחָר Cur Afa.* See *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, p. 234.

In a Word, all the Heathen Dæmons were to be worshipped by them as inferior Deities or Mediators, whom they took for deified Souls of their Worthies *; but were indeed no other than evil Spirits, the Devil and his Angels, counterfeiting the Souls of Men deceased, and masking themselves under the Names of such supposed Dæmons, under that Colour to seduce Mankind, and of some such Men as had been in their Life-time infamous for their abominable Crimes, as *Apollo* and *Jupiter* for their Adulteries and Murders, *Mercury* † for his Thievery, and *Hecate* was a Protector of Witches and Sorcerers; for which they were highly condemned by some of the more wise among their own Philosophers and Poets.

II. I proceed to shew the Unreasonableness and Absurdity of worshipping them.

And 1st, Against the Heathens we say, if by Gods they mean created Minds superior to Men, these are either good or bad. If they call them good, first this ought to be manifest to themselves, whether they are good, lest || by Chance they fall dangerously,

* See *Mede's Works*, p. 635. 1 tom. iv. 1.

† *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, so called from the Hebrew Word, which signifies the subtil or cunning, וְרֹ�� and sometimes it signifies the Prudent. And sometimes *Hermes Trismegistus*, most exceeding great and famous. He was called *Orus* from his Consecration, from the Hebrew Word נְרֹא or Light, with respect to that Light of Wisdom which they esteemed to have been in him. He was also called *Anubis*, or *Hermanubis*; and his Statues were made with a Dog's Head, the Symbol of Sagacity, intimating him to be like a quick-scented Hound. The Original of the Word *Anubis* is from נְבָה *Nabah*, which in the Eastern Languages signifies to bark as Dogs do.

|| *Left by Chance they fall dangerously, by receiving Enemies as Friends, Revolters as Ambassadors.*] Porphyry in his second book of restraining from quickened Creatures: By those who are Enemies

dangerously, receiving Enemies as Friends, Deserters Revolters for Ambassadors: Reason also demands, that some clear Difference should be in the Worship itself between the supreme God, and these Minds: Then we ought to know of what Rank these Beings are, what Benefit may be expected from any of them, and with what Honour the chief or principal King would have every one honoured; all which since they are wanting in their Religion, it well appears from hence, how it has nothing in itself of certain, and how much safer they would do, to give themselves to the Worship of the one God the highest of all, which to be the Duty of a wise Man, also *Plato* said, and by so much the more, since good Minds are the Ministers of

Enemies to the Gods, every hurtful Art is performed, Sorcery For they who study by evil Arts to mock deceive Souls and accomplish naughty Things, do most of all worship those Spirits and their President. For these can under the Appearance of Prodigies impose. By these miserable Men get for themselves Philtres and divers Things pertaining to Love. For all Incontinence and Hope of Riches and Glory are most of all from those Spirits, above all truly Fraud; for a Lie is peculiar, perpetual to them, if indeed they would be Gods, and who is their Prince, be esteemed as a God. Moreover concerning *Egyptian Priests*. But they put that of a Controversy, that there is a kind of Spirits serving all Deceitfulness of many Shapes or Fashions, crafty, who now counterfeit Gods, even now Demons, at the least Souls of dead Men, and by that Means can suborn all Things which are accounted good, and which bad. But as to true good Things which consist in the Soul, they can do nothing, neither have they any Knowledge of them, but abuse their Reit, and provoke with Scoffs and hinder those who are in the Way to Virtue, are full of Surliness, rejoicing in Brightness and Sacrifice. *Arnobius, book iv. against Countries*: Thus the Magicians Brethren to the Soothsayers in their Actions mention certain Beings, opposite to God who often creep on for true; and they are certain Spirits from grosser Matters, who feign themselves Gods. The same Sense is, not to transcribe too much, by *Jamblicus* of the *Egyptian Mysteries*, Book III. Chap. xxxii. and Book IV. Chap. xvii.

the

the chief or principal God, he cannot but have them alienated, delivered, compelled, pronounced to himself, who makes use of a favourable God. But that the Minds, to whom the Worship of the Heathens was bestowed, were not good, but bad, is certain by no small Arguments. First of all because they did not refer their Worshippers to the Worship of the chief or principal God ; rather that Worship, as much as they could, they made away with, or at least by all Means to God the highest of all, in Worship, would be equalled. 2dly, Because they procured the greatest Evils to the Worshippers of the one God the highest of all ; stirring up the Magistrates and People to punish them. For when the Poets might without Punishment or Danger sing the Parricides and Adulteries of their Gods, and the *Epicureans* take away divine Providence out of the World, so there was not any other Religion so disagreeing in its Rites, which was not admitted into their Society, as the *Egyptian, Phrygian, Tuscan* Rites at *Rome* ; the Jews only all abroad were the only Objects of Derision, as appears from their Satires and Epigrams, and sometimes banished. But * Christians moreover were put to the most cruel Tortures ; for which no other Cause could be given, but that these two Sects worshipped one God, whose Honour their acknowledged Gods opposed, not so great Rivals to each other as to him.

* See *Grotius* on the Truth of the Christian Religion, Book iv. To this we may apply those Words of *Juvenal*,

If into Rogues omnipotent you rake,
Death is your Doom, impal'd upon a Stake ;
Smear'd o'er with Blood, and set on Fire to light
The Streets, and cast a dreadful Blaze by Night.

Thirdly from the Manner of their Worship, unbecoming a good and honest Mind, by human Blood, by the running of naked Men in their Temples, and by Games and Dances full of Filth, even now are beheld among the People of *America* and *Africa*, overgrown in the Darkness of Paganism. Rather what is more, there formerly have been, and now are, People who worship evil Spirits, who know and profess them to be such-like ; as the *Persians* their † *Arimanius*, the *Grecians* their *Cacodemons* evil Spirits, the *Latins* their § *Veyjoves*, and yet now some ones of the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* others ; than which nothing more impious can be invented. For what is religious Worship, but a Testimony of the highest of all Goodness, which you acknowledge or own to be in him whom you worship ? Which if it be bestowed upon an evil Spirit, is false and counterfeit, and contains in itself the Crime of Rebellion ; since the Honour due to the great King is not only taken away from him, but is removed to his Deferter and Enemy. It is a foolish Persuasion ; by which they feign, that a good God will not revenge it, since that would be contrary to his Goodness ; for Clemency, if it be just, hath its Limits ; and where heinous Offences exceeds Bounds, Justice of itself as of Necessity produceth Punishment. Neither is that Obedience less culpable, which they say they perform to evil Spirits drawn by Fears ; since he who is chiefly good, is also extremely communicative, and thereupon a Length-

† See *Grotius de Veritate Relig. Chrys.* lib. iv. p. 168, &c.

§ He was a God of the antient *Romans*, whom they adored not out of Hopes of any Favour, but that he should do them no Mischief. This his Statue shewed, which, according to *Aulus Gellius*, resembled a young Man holding Arrows in his Hand ready to shoot ; whence People conjectured, that by *Vejovis* they understood the Sun, which by its Beams, as by so many Darts, senas us Sickness. *Cic. de Nat. Deorum.*

ener of other Natures : and if it be so, it follows, that he hath a supreme Power over all Natures, as his Workmanship ; so that by none of them can any thing be done, which he evidently desires to prevent. Which being granted, it is easy to conclude, him evil Spirits can no more hurt, who has the supreme God and supreme Good favouring him, than such as he permits, that it might be to him the Cause of some Good. Nor indeed can any thing be obtained of an evil Spirit, which ought not to be rejected, because a bad Spirit, when he feigns himself good, is then the worst, and the Gifts of Enemies are Snares. And there have been Pagans, and now are also, who say they present Worship to the Souls of dead Men. But first of all this Worship is to be distinguished, by remarkable Tokens, from the Worship of the supreme God. Nor is the Church of * *Rome* free from the Guilt of this Error, more than the Pagans, of paying religious Worship to the Souls of Men departed this Life, as themselves confess. Besides truly Prayers to them are vain, unless any thing could by those Souls be bestowed upon us ; of which nothing is certain to the Worshippers, nor is there any thing, why more they can affirm it to be done, than not done ; or, that we could suppose them omniscient and omnipre-

* They intreat the Saints not only that they would pray to God for them, but that they themselves would bless them ; that the Angels and Saints would give them Strength, Grace, Health and Power ; that St. *Peter* would have Mercy upon them, and open to them the Gates of Heaven ; that the blessed Virgin would protect them from their Enemies, and receive them at their Death : In a Word, that she would command her Son to forgive them by that Right which, as a Mother, she hath over him. A Presumption unwarrantable, if not wholly idolatrous, in desiring any but God alone to help and succour, or to give them thole Blessings, which he only has Power to dispense. See *Three Tracts against Popery*, by *Abp. Wake*.

fent, as God himself is to hear our Prayers, which is impious to maintain: On the contrary we are told by St. James i. 17. *Every good Gift, and every perfect Gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no Variableness, neither Shadow of turning,* 1 Tim. ii. 5, 8. *There is but one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, &c.* rather that is the worst, that to which Men they gave this Honour, are known by Experience to have been eminent for great Vices; a drunken *Bacchus*, an effeminate *Her-cules*, a *Romulus*, cruel to his Brother, and a *Jupiter*, as ungodly to his Father; so as that Honour which is given to them redounds to the Reproach of the true God and of that Probity, which is pleasing to him; whilst it gives a Commendation from Religion to Vices of themselves sufficiently flattering *.

The Worship of the Stars was more ancient than this, and of the Elements, Fire, Water, Air, Earth. Nor indeed is it wanting great Error; for the greatest Part of religious Worship are Prayers, which cannot but foolishly be represented but before intelligent Natures. But those are not such like, which we call Elements, after a Sort appears by Sense. If any one will affirm another Thing of the Stars, he will have nothing, by which he can prove that, since from the Operation of the Stars,

* *Flattering.]* See an Example in *Terence's Eunuch*, *Act III. Scene V. Cyprian. Epist. II.* Their Gods whom they worship, they imitate, and by miserable Men Faults become religious. *Augustin Epist. CLII.* Nothing renders Men so unsociable in Perverseness of Life, as Imitation of those Gods, such as are commended and described in their Letters *Chalcidius to Timaeus*. And so it is that for Thanks, which are due to Divine Providence from Men, an Original and Birth should be set open to Sacrilege. *See the whole Place.*

which

which are Discoverers of Nature, nothing such like can be concluded, rather the contrary plainly enough is concluded from their Motion not varying, such as is of those Creatures who have Free-will, but constantly and by a Rule or Direction *. Now moreover elsewhere we have shewn, the Courses of the Stars are prepared for the Use of Men; whence we ought to acknowledge ourselves more like God in our better Part, and more dear to him: wherefore we do an Injury to our own Excellency, if we put ourselves under those Things which God has given us, when on the contrary we ought to give Thanks to God for them, which they cannot do for themselves, or are not taught to do. But what is most base of all is, that Men fell down to the Worship of Beasts, especially the *Egyptians* †. For although some Shadow of Understanding shews itself in some of them, that itself is nothing, if it be looked upon in comparison of Man, since they cannot explain their internal Conceptions by distinct Words and Writing: nor do Works of divers Kinds, nor Works of the same Sort or Kind in a different Manner; much less can they obtain the Knowledge of Numbers, Dimensions, or of the cœlestial Courses. But contrariwise || Man by the Craftiness of his Wit takes

* *Rule or Direction.*] By which Argument a certain King of Peru persuaded denied the Sun could be a God.

† *Especially the Egyptians.*] Concerning whom *Philo* in his Embassay says, They esteem as Gods Dogs and Wolves and Lions and Crocodiles, and other watery, earthly Fowls any living Creatures. Add a long Disputing about this Matter Book I. of *Diodorus Siculus*, an Historian of *Sicily* in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*.

¶ *Euripides in Æolus.*

Nature to Man small Strength has given,
Of Wisdom still the more,
T' o'ercome whate'er flies under Heaven,
Or swims the Sea, or treads the Shore.

Antiphon.

takes all the most mighty, any living Creatures, wild Beasts, Birds, Fishes, partly also subdues under his Laws ; as Elephants, Lions, Horses, Oxen ; from those which are most noxious brings down to himself some Advantage, as Drugs from Serpents : this Use he certainly hath from them all, which they are ignorant of themselves, that spying a Joint or joining together of Bodies and a Situation of Parts, and comparing both the Forms of Things, besides Sorts or Kinds among themselves, he will hence learn his own Dignity, and how much more perfect and noble the Structure of the human Body

Antiphon.
Whose Nature us subdues our Art o'ercomes.

Not badly hence you may explain what is in *Gen. i. 26*. And God said, *Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness ; and let them have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over the Cattle, and over all the Earth, and over every creeping Thing that creepeth upon the Earth.* And *Psal. viii. 6, 7, 8. Thou makest Man to have Dominion over the Works of thy Hands ; thou hast put all Things under his Feet. All Sheep and Oxen, yea and the Beasts of the Field ; the Fowl of the Air, and the Fish of the Sea.*

Origen against Celsus, Book IV. Even from hence you may see for how great an Help our Understanding was given to us, and how much it excels any Armour wherewith we see Brutes furnished. We indeed having Bodies much weaker, and excessively smal'ler than the Bodies of other living Creatures, nevertheless enjoy these by the virtue of our Understanding, and hunt such great Elephants, and those which are so bred that they can be tamed, we subject to our tame Nature : but those which either are not such, or promise us no Advantage from their Tameness, we treat them so with our Security, that when we will we hold them shut up ; when we want their Flesh for Food, we slay them no less easily than we do tame Beasts. It appears therefore that all Things by the supreme Creator are subjected to the living Creature endued with Reason, and to the Understanding born nigh to him. *Claudius Neapolitanus*, by *Porphyry*, of not eating any living Creature, Book. I. so speaks of Man : “ Who “ hath Dominion or Government over mute dumb living Crea-“ tures, no less than God over Man.”

is than of other Bodies ; which if some one should consider, he will be so far from worshipping the other Animals as Gods, that he will rather think himself appointed as it were some God to them under the Chief or Principal.

We read that the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and others also, worshipped Things which do not subsist, but are the Accidents of other Things. For those outrageous Things the Fever, Impudence, and the like that I may forbear : Health is nothing else but a right Temperature of the Parts of the Body, good Fortune, a likeness of the Event with the Desire of Man : and the Passions, such as Love, Fear, Anger, Hope, and the others from the Consideration of a Thing either good or evil, easy or difficult, are certain Motions in that Part of the Mind, which is most nearly connected to the Body by the Blood, which have no Power over themselves, but are subject to the Authority of the Will as their Mistress, certainly what appertaineth to continuing and Direction : the Virtues of which there are different Names, Prudence consisting in the Election of what is profitable, Fortitude in undergoing Dangers, Justice in abstaining from another Man's Right, Temperance in the Moderation of Pleasures, and moreover the others are an Inclination in the Soul to Right at full growth, the same which as they may be enlarged, so by Neglect they may be diminished, and rather perish in a Man. Rather Honour, to whom we read of Temples being dedicated, it is the Judgement of others concerning any Person as endowed with Virtue ; which often both happens to the Wicked, and does not to the Good, by an inbred Easiness in Mankind to err. These Things therefore, whereas they do not subsist, and thereupon in Dignity cannot be compared with subsisting Things, neither have any

Under-

Understanding of Prayers or Veneration, to worship as God, is most absurd to human Reason, whereas for the same he is to be worshipped, by whom they may be given and preserved. It is usual with Pagans to alledge Miracles in Commendation of their Religion; but against which many Things may be warded off, excepted; for those who were the wisest among themselves, many of them * as supported by no sufficient Credit of Witnesses, and wholly feigned reject some which are said to be done, happened in a Privacy, in the Night, before one or two, upon whose Eyes it were easy to impose by a false Sight of Things by the Subtilty of the Priests. And there are others which stirred up an Admiration of themselves among the People ignorant of natural Things, especially of their occult Qualities. Such a Thing would happen if any one in Presence of People ignorant of the Matter should draw Iron with a Loadstone; in which Arts *Symon* and *Apollonius* of [†] *Tyana* were very powerful, as by many is given out. I do not deny that some Things were seen greater than these, which could not be drawn from natural Causes by human Power alone; but such which a Strength truly divine, that is omnipotent did not require, since to them Spirits between God and Man might suffice, who through their Quickness, Force, and Craft, might easily remove distant Things, and compose Things however different to such Effects, as should put Men

* *Livy in the Beginning.* Those Things which were delivered before the City was built or to be built adorned more with poetic Fables, than the uncorrupted Monuments of Actions done, we have no Mind either to affirm or confute. This Leave is granted to Antiquity, that by mingling human with divine Things, it might make the Rise of the City more noble.

† There are certain Diseases and Dissensions in this our Matter, these when they happen, the Dæmons ascribe the Causes of them to themselves.

into

into Stupidity. But that those Spirits, by whom this was accomplished, were not good, and thereupon neither their Religion, appears from what we have said before ; besides from thence also, that they said they unwilling were compelled by certain Charms*, since it is manifest even among the most wise of the Pagans, that no such Force can belong to Words, but that of not persuading only, and that according to the Manner of their Signification. And it is a Discovery of their Naughtiness, that they often undertook to inveigle this or that Person, striving against it into the Love of this or that, when even human Laws forbid this as Witchcraft †. Nor is there any Reason, any should wonder, the chief or principal God should permit some miraculous Works to be executed by evil Spirits, since they deserve to

* The Oracle of *Hecate* by *Porphyry*.

I come being call'd by well-advised Pray'rs
 Which Men have found by Warning from the Gods,
 What wanting me *Hecate* from the last Sky drawn,
 Hast thou tied by Charm, who canst the Gods compel.

And *Apollo* by the same :

Hear me unwilling whom by Law thou'st bound.

These are the Rites of secret Arts, by which they speak unto I know not what Powers, as *Arnobius* speaks, making necessitated Servants by their Charms, as *Clement* explains, there is a Form of threatening by *Jamblicus*, in the Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, lib. iv. ch. 5, 6, 7. *Lucan* hath the same, lib. ix. in the Words of younger *Pompey*, and from *Porphyry*. *Eusebius*, lib. iv. c. x. *Prepar.* you have other Forms of Threatenings, by *Lucan*, where he treats of *Erechthon*; and *Papinius*, whereof *Tiresias*.

† *Witchcraft.*] See the Sorcerers of *Theocritus* in *Virgil*. See the Confession of *Porphyry* by *Eusebius*, lib. iv. of his *Prepar.* cap. 17. and by *Austin*, lib. x. of the City of God. See the same *Porphyry*, lib. ii. of not eating any living Creatures; and *Origen* against *Celsus*, lib. viii.

be deluded by such Deceits, who a pretty while since revolted from the Worship of the true God. *Deut.* xiii. 3. 2 *Theb.* ii. 9, 10. *Epkes.* ii. 2, 3. Then truly this is an Argument of their Weaknes, that by their Labour they never brought any evident God with them. For if some appeared restored to Life they did not abide constantly in Life, nor exercise the Functions of living Persons. But if what sometimes proceeding from the divine Prevalency appeared in Sight of the Pagans, yet it is not foretold that would come to pass to prove their Religion; whence nothing hinders, by how much less the divine Efficacy might have caused pro and to itself by far divers. For Example if it be true that Sight was restored to a blind Man by *Vespasian*, it was done that he being more venerable by that Matter might the more easily obtain the *Roman Empire* *, as chosen of God, a Minister of his Judgments against the Jews; and there might have arisen like Causes of other Prodigies, which could have nothing common † with Religion, although all the same Things may be applied to solve that, which they oppose concerning Oracles, chiefly what

* *More easily obtain the Roman Empire.*] *Tacitus* book vi. Many Miracles came to pass in which heavenly Favours and a certain Inclination of the Deity to *Vespasian* might be proved. He had said before, *Hist.* i. by the secret Laws of Fate, by strange Sights and Answers we believed the Empire was destined to *Vespasian* and his children after Fortune. *Suetonius* is not to mention the same Miracles thus speaks before, cap. vi. of his Maturity and as it were a certain Majesty, as, without Doubt, was not looked for and as it were new Prince was walking, this also was added. See the same *Suetonius* a little before, chap. 2. *Tacitus* of the same *Vespasian*, book i.i. chap. 2. God now encouraging him to Principality, also by other significations before *Seep-tes* to him.

† *which could have nothing common.*] But see also a Treatise of Miracles, which are feigned to be done in Favour of *Legion* and *divinum*.

we have said, that Men deserve to be derided, who despised those Notions, which to every one Reason and most ancient Tradition prompts. Then * truly the Words of the Oracle ordinarily ambiguous, and which might easily receive an Interpretation from whatsoever Event. But if what more definitively hath been foretold by them, yet it is not necessary it should proceed from an omniscient Mind; whereas they are either such, which may be perceived before from natural Causes already appearing, as some Physicians have foretold future Diseases †, or probably conjectured from that which for the most Part happens, which we have often seen hath been done by such as were skilful in civil Matters ‡. But if God at any Time among the Pagans,

* Truly the Words of the Oracle ordinarily ambiguous.] See the Place of *Oenomaus* concerning this Matter, by *Lucius*, lib. iv. cap. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. Hence *Aulus* was called by the Greeks *Δελφίας*. *Cicero* in Book II. of his *D. de Orac.* calls the Oracles of *Apollon* equivocal and obscure, when of the three of them happened, he said the Oracle had been true, but yet whether haply after the Event are foreseen, nor are there any occasions for inspecting many Frauds used by Propriets, conjecturing which *Marius D. de Fontenelle* has written a most exact Discourse in French, which see, and which are said to defend it, vol. II. of the Chosen Library, and which in Latin before all others *Anthony Van Dale* in a Book of Oracles, hath written of this Matter.

† *As some Physicians have predicted future Diseases.]* which is to *Timaeus*. Either by the flying of Birds, or by Dreams, or by Oracles Men are forewarned, while some favourable. *Demon* tells before and, who is knowing of all the fains which from thenceforth upon that follow, according as a Physician in his Discipline of Healing should affirm Death or Health. And *Maximus* and *Peregrinus* haranguates *See Book II. ch. 29.*

‡ *Such as were unskilful in civil Matters.]* See *Wincet* the Life of *Mercurius*. Are a Discovery of this Matter, besides these Books in which he makes mention of it, which are now subtilized to the vulgar or common sort of Peoples. *Mercurius* in his *Epistles*, from his Coniallition to the last Time sent to

gans, made use of the Labour of any Prophet to prophesy these Things, which could have no certain Cause beyond the Divine Will, it did not belong to confirm the Pagan Religion, but rather to overthrow it: such as are known by *Mare*, Eclogue the Fourth, taken out of the Sybelline Prophesies, in which he, * not knowing the same, describes an Arrival of Christ and Benefits to us. So

which who read need not much desire a woven together History of those Times. For all Things are registered concerning the Desires of the Princes, the Vices of the Commanders, changing of the Commonwealth, that nothing appears not in them; and it may easily be esteemed Prudence after a Sort is a Divination. For *Cicero* not only those Things, which happened unexpectedly while he was living, foretold which will be, but also the Things which now fall out, prophesied as a Prophet. But *Cicero* concerning himself in the 6th Epit. of the 6th Book.
 " In which War nothing happened events which I did not fore-
 " tell; wherefore as Soothsayers and Astrologers are wont, I
 " also a public Diviner, from my former Predictions, have ap-
 " pointed before you Authority of Soothsaying and of my Di-
 " vision, our foretelling ought to have Credit with you. Not
 " therefore from the flying upon of the Bird, nor by a ringing
 " of the Bird towards the left Hand, as it is in our Discipline,
 " or the rebounding of Corn, or from Dreams do I divine to
 " thee, but I have other Signs which I can observe." So
Solan foretold that greatest Evils would happen from *Monachus*
to Abens. *Thales* in the Village then describes what the Form
 of the *Milijans* would be.

* *Not knowing the same.* It is now sufficiently manifest that all the Prophesies of the Sybils were either doubtful or counterfeited. Therefore I would not have *Virgil*, an Interpreter of the Sybil, be esteemed uttering Prophesies, by Inconsiderateness, as *Cicero*, who unskilful prophesied. I know not what Sybil, or rather who lay hid under a Wizard or Mask of one, foretold the Golden Age would return, according to the Opinion of them, who thought all Things would be renewed, and the like again come to pass. See they which *Cicero* has laid, Book 11. chap. x. and Notes to that Place. Therefore neither a Sybil, in in this Matter, was a Heathen Prophetess, nor did *Virgil* copy out Prophesies of Christ. See *Solanus* to the Place, and *Justus* *Ligatus* an Interpreter of the self same Eclogue. *Ge. Cicero.*

in the fame of the Sybils it was, he must be acknowledged for a King, who should be truly our King, and from the East he is to come, who should enjoy all Things. [The Oracle of *Apollo* by *Porphyry* is read, in which he avoucheth, the other Gods to be airy Spirits, but the one God of the Hebrews is to be worshipped: which Saying, if the Worshippers of *Apollo* obey, they cease to be such-like: if they do not obey, they accuse their own God of a Lie. Add yet, that, if those Spirits in their Oracles would have provided for the Good of Mankind, before all Things they had pro-

[*The Oracle of Apollo by Porphyry.*] See *Justin* of the City of God, Book XX. Chap. 23. and *Eusebius* of prepar. IV. Ch. 4. the same *Porphyry* in his Book of Oracles. The God (that is to say *Apollo*) testifies, that the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Lydians, and Hebrews, are the Finders of the true Way. The hortatory Author to the Greeks, among the Works of *Justin*, alledges this Oracle,

The Chaldeans only, and Hebrews are wise,
Who reverently the unborn God adore.

And that,

Who form'd the first Man, and him *Adam* call'd.

There are two Oracles of *Hecate* concerning Jesus himself, which from *Porphyry* *Eusebius* transcribed in his *Evangelicæ Demonstrationes*,

That Soul's from Bodies freed shall live he knows,
Whom Wisdom honoureth the Soul of him,
Which far excels all others, as by Piety.
His Body's tortured with weakly Pains,
His Soul ascends the Regions of the Pious.

St. Justin makes mention of the fame from the same *Porphyry*, Book XXIX. Chap. 23. of the City of God, and where he brings another Oracle, in which *Iudas* laid,

The Father is the Law of all Gods,
Whom the very best *Hebres* venerate.

posed a general Rule of Living, and made a certain Belief of a recompensing, which would abide such as live accordingly, neither of which is done by them. Contrariwise in their Poems, Kings, although wicked are commended, divine Honours decreed to Champions*, Men are allured into Loves even not lawful, to catch at evil Gains, to commit Murders, which may be demonstrated by many Patterns.

Then truly the Pagan Religion furnisheth a great Argument to us against itself, besides those which are alledged above, forasmuch because, wherever it was destitue of human force, it was wholly demolished, as that one Thing taken away by which it stood. For if you carry about your Eyes thro' as many Empires as there are, of Christians or Mahometans; you will see no Memory of Paganism but in Books. Rather Histories teach, also in those Times, when Emperors used either Force or Punishment, as the first did, or Learning and Craft, as *Julian*, to support the Pagan Religion, daily something to have been diminished from it; no Violence being opposed, no glittering of Lineage, (for by the Vulgar or common Sort of People Jesus was accounted the Son of an Artist) not a Flower of Learning, from which the Speech of those who taught the Religion of Christ was free, not Gifts, (as they were poor) not any flattering, when contrariwise they said all Advantages were to be despised; no Adversity was not to be endured for the sake of this Law. See how great was the Weakness of Paganism; when it is spoiled of such-like Helps? nor did the Credulity of the Heathens only

* *Decreed to Champions.*] See the Things *Oenomaus* brings by *Eusebius, Prepar. Evang.* Book V. Chap. 32. of *Cleondes*, and *Origen* against *Celsus*, Book III. has this.

vanish at this Doctrine, but also Spirits themselves, at the Name of Christ, departed out of Bodies, kept in their Voice, and questioned concerning the Cause of their Silence, they were compelled to say, * they could do nothing where Christ is called upon.

There have been Philosophers, who ascribed both the Rising and Destruction of every Religion to the Stars. But the same Science of the Stars, which those profess themselves to know, is taught under such divers Rules, that nothing of certain can there be found, besides this one Thing, that nothing is certain. I speak not of those Effects which follow from the Necessity of Causes by Nature, but of those which proceed from the human Will, which of her own Accord is so free, that nothing of Necessity from without can be imprinted upon it. Because, if from such an Impression should necessarily follow an Act of the Will, already the Power in the Soul of deliberating and choosing, which we ourselves perceive, in vain was given to us, || and the Equity of all Laws, Rewards and Punishments taken away, since there can be neither Fault nor Merit in that, which is wholly inevitable.

Besides, since there are some evil Actions of the Will, if through a fatal Necessity they proceed

* *They could do nothing where Christ is called upon.*] *Tertullian* in that pertaining to Apology or Excuse. And see *Lucian* to a false Diviner. *Apollo to Daphne*. This Place *Daphne* is full of the Dead, that hinders Oracles. Those Dead were *Babylas* and other Christian Martyrs. See *Chrysostom* against the Heathens.

|| *Justin, Ap. II.* Unless the Race of Man hath Power by free Choice to avoid what is evil, and chuse Good, on neither Side could they ascribe to him the Cause of his Actions. So *Tatian*, For this Freedom is given to the Will, that who is evil may be justly punished, because through his own Fault he is become wicked; but that he who is just should be praised, because thro' the same Liberty he has avoided violating the Divine Precepts.

from

from Heaven, because forasmuch God hath imputed such Power to Heaven and heavenly Bodies, now it follows that God who is most perfectly good, § must be the real Cause of moral Evil, and (whereas having given a Law he professeth himself to abhor Wickedness, the accomplishing and inevitable Power of which he hath inserted in Things) wills two Things which are contrary to each other, that the same Thing should be done and not done: and to be sinned in which some one doeth by the divine Impulse. † It is more probably said of others, that the Air first, by the Influxes of the Stars, and then our Bodies are touched, and imbibe certain Qualities, which for the most Part excite in the Mind Desires agreeing with themselves; and that the Will is enticed by them, and often obeys them, but this being granted so it makes nothing to that Question which we begin to treat of, for whereas the Religion of Christ chiefly takes away Men from those Things which are pleasing to the Body, it could not take Birth from Passions of the Body, wherefore neither from the Force of the Stars, which as I said, do not act upon the Body, but by those Passions * the most prudent Astrologers exempt Men truly wise and good from the Laws of the Stars: and such truly were those, who

§ *Cause of moral Evil.*] Against which *Plato* shewed, Book II. of the Commonwealth, the Cause is in the Power of him who chuseth: God is without Fault; as *Chalcidius* in *Timæus* turns it, which *Justin* in the said Place says agrees with *Moses*.

† But of all most in Truth who deny, stily or utterly those Flowings on, nor acknowledge or own any thing in Stars, besides Heat and Light, to which it is permitted us to add the Weight of the whole Mass; but these properly make nothing to the Mind. *Clerc.*

* *Exempt M.n truly wise and good.*] From the Laws of the Stars. *Zoroaster*, Do not enlarge your Fate. *Ptolemaeus*, A wise Man may forbid many Virtues of the Stars.

first

first enterprised the Christian Religion, which their Lives prove. If we give any Force to Learning also from Letters, against an Infection of the Body; there have been always among the Christians who have been famous for that Praise. Besides truly the Effects of the Stars, which the most learned confess, have an Eye unto certain Climates of the World, and are temporary. But this Religion hath endured more than seventeen hundred Years, not in one, but in the most distant Parts of the World, and which are by far under another Situation of the Stars. I am to shew,

III. The Parts of the Christian Religion are every one of so great Honesty, as of their own Light as if it were they may convince the Mind; so that among the Pagans also there have not been wanting, who have said those Things severally, which our Religion hath altogether; that is to say, Religion is not founded in Ceremonies *, but in

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* *But in the Mind.] Menander:*

Sacrifice to God always with an excellent Wit,
Not being beautiful in Garments more than Manners.

Cicero of the Nature of the Gods II. The Worship of the Gods is best, and moreover most chaste most holy, and most full of Piety, that we should always worship them with a pure, sound, uncorrupt Mind and Voice. The same of *Laws* II. Law commands chastly to come to the Gods, with a Mind without Doubt, in which are all Things. *Perseus*, Sat. II.

But let us for the Gods a Gift prepare,
Which the great Man's great Chargers cannot hear:
A Soul where Laws, both human and divine,
In Practice more than Speculation shine,
With generous Virtue of a vigorous Kind,
Pure in the last Recesses of the Mind.
When with such Offering to the Gods I come,
A Cake thus given is worth a Hecatomb.

Which Verses seem to have an Eye unto an Oracle of *Pythia* the Priestess of *Apollo*, which is by *Porphyry* of not eating any living

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Creatures Book II. where any Thing offered by a pious Man is preferred to Hecatombs of another. In the same Book *Porphyry* has these Things of equal Contents. Now truly him indeed who is cloathed with spotles white Garment, but with an impure Body, they esteem not perfectly fit to offer Sacrifice. But truly where some ones shining or glittering both in Body and Apparel, in the mean Time have not a Mind free from Evils, and so approach to solemn Feasts, they suppose this to concern nothing; as if God is not delighted most of all, with that which is most divine in us being well, as what hath kindred with him. But marry in the Temple of *Epidaurum*, it was enjoyned, appointed,

Come chaste to the Entrances of the perfumed Temple
Right Commands ——————
But Chastity is placed in this
That you think holy Things.

And a little while after: To that God who is above all, as some one wise Man said, Nothing of those Things which have Matter ought to be sacrificed, or named. For nothing is sharer of Matter, which is not unclean to him who wants Matter, wherefore neither doth Speech agree with him, which is expressed by a Word: nor indeed that inward, if from the Passions of the Mind it hath contracted a Default. Again in the same Place: For neither is it agreeable, that in those Temples, which Men have dedicated to the Gods, even the Bands of the Feet should be demanded clean, and Shoes without spot, but in the Temple of the chief or principal Father, to wit, this World; we ought not to preserve clear, that outward last Vesture of our Body from the Hides; and that to be conversant most religiously in that Temple of the Father. Neither can I let pass this from the same Book: But who is perwaded the Gods are not in want of those Sacrifices, but consider attentively to the Mind of the Offerer, and that is supposed the best Sacrifice with them, a right Opinion both of them; besides of Things, how does he not become temperate, pious, and just, where note these three Things by *Paul*, Tit. ii. 12. *Soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present World.* *Charondes* in a Preface of the Laws: Let the Mind be pure from all Evil, for the Gods delight not in the Costs and Sacrifices of naughty Men, but in the just and honest Actions of good Men. *Seneca* brought forth by *Laetanius* Book VI. of Teachings, Chap. 24. would you think God to be great and calm and to be reverenced for mild, meek Majesty, a Friend and always hard-by? Not to be worshipped with Sacrificings and much Blood, but with clear Mind and honest Intent. Temples are not to be built or piled up to him with

the Mind; even he is an Adulterer † that would commit Adultery; || an Injury is not to be returned; one § Woman is to be joined to one Man; a League or Covenant of Matrimony ought to be everlasting; † that it is every Man's Duty to do good to another, especially to him who is in Want;

with great Stones or Rocks heaped up into a Height; he is to be consecrated by every one in his own Breast. You have the same Sense by *Dion. Prusænus, Orat. III. Thucydides Book I.*

A Festival Day is nothing other than to discharge thy Duty. Doth not a good Man keep every Day solemn?

† *Ovid*: Who because it is not lawful doth not, she does, as now you have well preserved a Body, the Mind is an Adulterer, all being shut out within he will be an Adulterer. *Seneca* the Father, she is defiled also without Whoredom, who desires a Rape. Elsewhere, not undeservedly she is accounted among the Number of Sinners, who performs Chastity for the Sake of Fear, and not for her own.

|| *An Injury is not to be returned.*] *Menander*:

He is the bravest Man, O *Georgia*,
Who, of all Men, knows best to suffer Wrongs.

Arist. Spartinus: To one who said it was a royal Thing to do good to one's Friends, and evil to one's Enemies; Yes, quoth he, to do good to one's Friends; and to make our Enemies our Friends. And in *Plutarch Dion*, the Deliverer of *Sicily*, affirms, " The true Demonstration of Philosophical Study " to be herein placed, not that one should be liberal to his " Friends, but if any one who is injured should be exorable " and mild towards those who have offended."

§ *One Woman is to be joined to one Man.*] *Euripides Adromach.* It is not well that only one Man should reign over two Wives,

But live content with one beloved Bed,
Whoever would preserve domestick Peace,
This changing Road is ever infamous.

† *So Terence Heauton*, I am a Man, and ought to do all Things proper to a Man. *Florentinus*, the Lawyer says, That Nature has put some Alliance among us all. To the same End looks a Proverb, *Man is to Man a God.*

as much as can be to abstain from an Oath* ; in Meat and Drink and Raiment, necessary for Nature, we ought to be content† ; and if there be any thing in the Christian Religion difficult to be believed, equal are to be found among the most wise of the Pagans. So *Plato*, taught by the *Chaldeans*, distinguished the Divine ‡ Nature into the Father ; the

* *As much as can be to abstain from an Oath.] Pythagoras.* Not to swear by the Gods, for he ought to exercise, allow himself not unequal to Truth, like to be true. *Hierocles* explains that very Thing largely before the Golden Poem. *M. Antonius*, Book III. in the Description of a good Man, for whom it is not necessary to use an Oath. *Sophocles* in his *Oedipus Coloneus*. I would not bind you by Oath, as being bad. *Clinias*, a Musician and Philosopher of *Pythagoras*'s Sect, had rather lose an Action or Suit at Law of Three Talents, than by an Oath affirm a true Matter. *Basilius* mentions it concerning reading *Greek Authors*.

† *Necessary for Nature we ought to be content.] Euripides.* For what is necessary to be good to eat besides two Things only, especially Corn of *Ceres*, a Cup or Potion of a Conveyance of Water.

Which are ready born or engend'red in to nourish us.

Lucan :

A River also Bread Corn is enough for the People.

Aristides :

I suppose without Doubt we have need of a Garment
A House and Nourishment.

‡ *Distinguished the Divine Nature.] Plato's Epistle to Dionysius.* And see *Proclus to Timæus*. *Plato* calls the first Original the Father ; the second Beginning, Cause of all and a Defender, in an Epistle to *Hermas*, *Erasius* and *Coriscus*. *Plotinus* calls that same the Mind in a Book concerning three principal Substances. *Numenius* a Workman, also a Son. *Amelius* a Word or Verb, as one may see by *Eusebius* Book XI. Chap. 17, 18, 19. And see *Cyrillus* in a Book against *Julian* III. IV. and VIII. *Chalcidius to Timæus* names the first God the highest of all ; the second the Mind, or Providence ; the third the animal Life of the World or a second Mind. Elsewhere these three so he describes, the disposing, commanding, putting in the Bosom. Of the second even so the same : The Reason of God

the Father's Mind, which he also calls a Branch of God, the Creator of the World; and the Soul in which all Things are contained.

That the Divine Nature could be joined with the Human, *Julian* that great Enemy of the Christians believed *, and gave an Example in *Æsculapius*; whom he would to come from Heaven to teach Men the Art of Physic.

The Cross of Christ offends many, but what do not Heathen Authors tell of their Gods? That some were Servants to Kings, others were Thunder-struck, dissected, wounded, and the wisest of them affirmed, that Virtue was more joyful the more it cost.

Plato † in his 2d Book of his Republick, as if it were foreknowing says, that a Man should be manifested

God is God providing for human Affairs, which is a Cause to Men of living well and happily, if they neglect not a Gift bestowed upon them by the chief or principal God. *Pythagoreans* assign to God the highest of all, as perfect, the Number of Three, saith *Servius*, Eclogue the Seventh. From whence what *Aristotle* has of the same *Pythagoreans* goes not away in the first Heaven in the very Beginning. More eloquently of these *R. Cudworth* treats a Man by far most learned, Book I. ch. iv. of an *English* Work concerning the intellectual System of the World, which to have consulted you will not repent, *Clerc.*

* *Julian that great Enemy of the Christians believed.*] Book VI. *Jupiter* amongst those Things that are attained by Knowledge begat *Æsculapius* from himself, and gave him to be perceived to the Earth by the Life of the Sun Seed apt to engender. He truly upon the Earth from Heaven making Progress in one Form appeared at *Epidaurus*. *Porphyrius Cyril* relates his Words in the Book we have named, VIII. There are a certain kind of Gods which are turned into Men according to their Times, which was the Opinion of the *Egyptians* of this Matter. See *Plutarch Sympos.* VIII. *Question I.* Add to these the Place of *A&s* xiv. 10.

† *Plato in his 2d Book of his Republick, as if it were foreknowing, says,*] The Greek so understand: He will be scourged, overthrown, he will be bound, burnt up, toasted, roasted, parched, his Eyes tore out, dying he will suffer all Evils. Whence *Cicero* took that, and rendered it in the Third Book of Republick

That

fested truly just, it is necessary that his Virtue be deprived of all its Ornaments, so that he be esteemed by others as a mischievous Man, jested at, and lastly hanged up, and certainly it could not be otherwise, that he might be a known Example of the highest of all Patience. The Conclusion of an Oration follows, yet not to Foreigners, but to Christians of every Kind and Name, in few Words shewing the Use of the same, which hitherto are said.

Let them lift up pure Hands to that God, who created all Things visible and invisible out of nothing: with a certain Confidence that he keeps Care of us, when save by his Permission, a Sparrow cannot fall: and not to fear those, who can only hurt the Body, in Comparison of him, who hath equal Right over both Soul, and Body: And that they trust not only in God the Father, but in Jesus: for there is no other Name under Heaven,

That good Man may be vexed, haled, finally his Hands may be carried away, his Eyes may be dug up, he may be condemned, tied or banded, burnt. *Lactantius*, Book VI. of Instructions, chap. 17. has preserved this Place of *Seneca* for us; this is that honourable Man, whether in the whole Body Torments are to be suffered, whether a Flame in his Mouth is to be received, or his Hand to be stretched out upon a Cross, he asketh not what he must suffer, but how well. Such like to us *Euripides* puts before the Eyes in these Verses:

Burn up or consume, scald the Flesh,
Be filled drinking my sad Blood,
Stars shall sooner come below the Earth,
The Earth shall ascend into the Sky,
Than Flattery from me shall meet a Word with you.

Justly that of *Æschylus* agrees with such recited by *Plato* in a said Place:

For he would not appear to be, but be the best,
Carrying a deep Furrow in his Mind,
From whence rev'rend Counsels sprout or shoot out.

given

given among Men, whereby we must be saved : which if they think rightly to do, not who with the Voice name him Father, this Lord, are to live for ever ; but who compose a Life according to their Will. Hereafter they are admonished carefully to preserve that hallowed Doctrine of Christ as a most precious Treasure : and for that Cause also often to read the Holy Scriptures, wherewith none can be deceived, unless who before deceives himself. For the Writers of them were more faithful and full of the divine Inspiration, than to defraud us of a necessary Truth, or cover it over with some Cloud : But we must bring a Mind prepared for Obedience : if that be, none of those Things will escape us, which ought to be believed, expected, or looked for, or done, and by the same Means is nourished and encouraged in us that Spirit, which is given us as an Earnest of future Felicity. Hereafter they are forbidden from the Imitation of Pagans : first of all in the Worship of false Gods, which are nothing but vain Names evil Angels use, that they may turn us aside from the Worship of the true God : wherefore we cannot partake of their Sacrifices, so that together also the Sacrifice of Christ should profit us : Secondly, in a licentious Manner of living, nor having another Law, than one dictated by Lust ; from whence Christians should be farthest off, who ought not only much to excel Pagans, but both Lawyers and Pharisees of the Jews, whose Righteousness consisting in some outward Facts is not sufficient, that we should attain unto the Kingdom of Heaven. Circumcision made with Hands is now in no Price, but that other inward Circumcision of the Heart, reverencing the Commands of God, a new Work or Workmanship, Confidence effectual in loving, from whence are owned the true Israelites, mystical Jews,

this

This is, Commanders of God. Differences of Meats, the Sabbaths, Festival Days, are Shadows of Things, which present themselves in Christ and Christians. From Occasion of Mahometanism these Admonitions are alledged, it was foretold by Christ, after his Time some would come, who should counterfeit themselves sent of God; but though an Angel should come from Heaven, no other Doctrine is to be received, than that of Christ, approved by so great Testimonies. That is to say in Time past by many and various Manners indeed God spake unto the Pious, which have been, but last of all by his Son he would accost us. The Lord of all Things, a shining of his Father's Brightness, the express Image of his Substance, by whom are built whatever were or will be, who by his Authority does and bears receives all Things, and who having purged our Sins lifted up to the Right Hand of God, hath purchased a Dignity above Angels: than a Law-giver in like Sort nothing can be expected more magnificent. On the same Occasion also it is called back to them in Memory, the Armour assigned to Soldiers of Christ, not to be like those *Mahomet* relies upon, but spiritual, fit to take by Force all the Fortifications, or fortifying strong Holds, which lift up themselves against the Knowledge of God: for a Buckler or Shield, Confidence; which may resist the fiery Darts of the Devil: for a Coat of Mail, Justice or uprightness of Life: for a Helmet, which may cover what is most feeble, the Hope of eternal Salvation; but for a Sword the Words divinely-delivered, piercing the most inward Parts of the Mind; an Exhortation to mutual Concord follows, which Christ going away seriously commended to his Followers, That there ought not to be among us many Doctors, but one Jesus Christ; all Christians are baptized into one Name: therefore

therefore Sects and Divisions ought not to be among them, to which that some Remedy might at last be admitted, these Apostolical Words, Sayings, are prompted, We must be wise temperately, *Rom. xii. 3. 16.* according to a Manner of Knowledge, which God hath measured to every one: If any understand less, we must bear their Weakness, that they may agree with us mildly and without Brawlings: that if any in Understanding excel others, it is meet, that also they excel in Affection towards the rest: but those, who think otherwise in any Part, are to be tarried for until God should discover the Truth to them lying hid: In the mean Time, those Things of which it is certain, are to be retained, and fulfilled by our Works. Now we know in part: that Age will come wherein all Things are certainly to be known. Even every one are desired this, that they should not unprofitably detain the Talent committed to them: but bestow all their Labour, to gain others to Christ: to which Purpose not only right and salutary Discourses are to be used, but an Example of a better Life, that by the Servants, a Judgment may be made, of the Goodness of their Lord; and from their Actions, of the Purity of his Law.

Now my Discourse returns, to intreat my present Hearers, that if there be any Good therein, or Profit, you would give God the Glory of it, and pray that it may be a Means of promoting your temporal and eternal Happiness, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one eternal God, be rendered and ascribed, as is most justly due, by us, and by the whole Creation, all Honour, Glory, Majesty and Dominion, both now and for ever.

Amen.

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 Force all the Fortifications, or fortifying strong
 Holds, which lift up themselves against the Know-
 ledge of God: for a Buckler or Shield, Confidence;
 which may resist the fiery Darts of the Devil: for
 a Coat of Mail, Justice or uprightness of Life:
 for a Helmet, which may cover what is most feeble,
 the Hope of eternal Salvation; but for a Sword
 the Words divinely delivered, piercing the most in-
 ward Parts of the Mind; an Exhortation to mutual
 Concord follows, which Christ going away seriously
 commended to his Followers, That there ought
 not to be among us many Doctors, but one Jesus
 Christ; all Christians are baptized into one Name:
 therefore

therefore Sects and Divisions ought not to be among them, to which that some Remedy might at last be admitted, these Apostolical Words, Sayings, are prompted, We must be wise temperately, *Rom. xii. 3. 16.* according to a Manner of Knowledge, which God hath measured to every one: If any understand less, we must bear their Weakness, that they may agree with us mildly and without Brawlings: that if any in Understanding excel others, it is meet, that also they excel in Affection towards the rest: but those, who think otherwise in any Part, are to be tarried for until God should discover the Truth to them lying hid: In the mean Time, those Things of which it is certain, are to be retained, and fulfilled by our Works. Now we know in part: that Age will come wherein all Things are certainly to be known. Even every one are desired this, that they should not unprofitably detain the Talent committed to them: but bestow all their Labour, to gain others to Christ: to which Purpose not only right and salutary Discourses are to be used, but an Example of a better Life, that by the Servants, a Judgment may be made, of the Goodness of their Lord; and from their Actions, of the Purity of his Law.

Now my Discourse returns, to intreat my present Hearers, that if there be any Good therein, or Profit, you would give God the Glory of it, and pray that it may be a Means of promoting your temporal and eternal Happiness, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one eternal God, be rendered and ascribed, as is most justly due, by us, and by the whole Creation, all Honour, Glory, Majesty and Dominion, both now and for ever.

Amen.

Places passed over. Page 160.

Ποσφορὰν τελέσαντες.] These Words are worthy of a more intimate Oversight, and afterwards the Oblation being finished, or finishing an Offering or after we have finished an Oblation. For τελεῖν signifies to perfect to bring to an End, to accomplish dispatch; hence one may conclude, the Action which goes before Consecration to be another, a divers, whereby that is performed, and so the former being finished, whereby the Gifts set on the Altar by Prayers are offered to God, more backward succeeds by which the Eucharist is consecrated not in like manner to be offered. But τελεῖν signifies not only to perform, but also to finish a holy Matter, to perform Sacrifices by *Appian* is said. So *Herodian*. The *Romans* perform a Procession to the Mother of the Gods. He may gather, or heap up together Examples out of Lexicons who will. Hence τελεῖν a Sacrifice, and other Sounds descending from that Original. With *Dionysius* this Voice was familiar. For hence to perform Efficacies pitched upon for holy Uses, to perfect a holy Prayer, to finish a mystical report of holy Folds, to sacrifice a holy deifying canonizing of Men to become Gods or Saints of performed Things, to perform finishings of a holy Matter, to perfect and appoint divine Things, to finish a most holy Sacrifice. He said not only of an Oblation of Gifts of the Eucharist, by which nothing almost by him is known, but also of Consecration and Distribution. But by whatsoever manner the Voice τελέσαντες, acquitting, discharging, finishing, in our Fragments of *Irenaeus* should be taken, henceforth after Consecration no Oblation will follow. For put the case so it is to be translated, and afterwards performing or frequenting an Oblation nothing hence other can

Not. in *Iren. Fragm. Anec.* by *Pfaffius*, p. 122, 123. be

be concluded, than an Oblation is perfected by Consecration, or Consecration to be its especial Part, whereby the Gifts of the Eucharist by the Words of Consecration should be offered to God, which Opinion I know not why should be contradicted, since by this way it can be said, Protestants of the ancient Church not to have abrogated but to hold again an Oblation of the Eucharist, these to wit, who by Prayer and Consecration finish the holy Worship of the Eucharist. But yet it is to be noted, the Voice *τελεῖν absolvō* to discharge, finish, or *συντελεῖν* to require, finish, *Pfaff.* page 25. In this Argument to be used by *Justin Martyr*, yet in that sense, that it may signify to perfect, who having finished the Prayers and Eucharist all People present commend, *Amen.*

Page 197.

But if also we allow this, yet it is no-where said, the Body and Blood of Christ *προσφερέσαι* to be offered, but rather the Gifts lying in open view, Bread and Wine mixed with Water are called Sacrifice and Oblation, but neither so indeed what we ought, have we granted, for an Oblation offering itself contained also a Consecration of Ancients. But nothing other was offered than what was consecrated, to wit, Bread and Wine with Water mixed. For these in Consecration were offered to God, that them *επιφορτήσαι* by the coming on of the Holy Ghost he might sanctify, and out of them might accomplish the Body and Blood of Christ. For so we may lay down according to *Zephyrinus* the Voice *ἀποφάνω offendō* to shew ought to be translated. It may suffice us, to accomplish not to be the same as to change and transubstantiate. Moreover we admire, *Zephyrinus* himself to confess, by that which is offered, Sacrifice, Bread and Wine shauld be understood.

derstood. But why I beseech from these doth the most learned Man draw the Sacrifice of the Mass in which you may see not only Bread and Wine offered (that which may be called a Ceremony indifferent and innocent) but also Christ without blood-shed slain, which *Apostol. Const.* say not. For an Oblation itself, most especially so called, is summed up in these Words according to *Zephyrinus* also: “ We offer to our King and God according “ to his Ordinance this Bread and this Cup, giv-“ ing Thanks to thee by him, ” which Words afterwards the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, i. e. a Consecration follows after. But if this be an Oblation, as *Zephyrinus* says, indeed not Gifts consecrated were offered, but to be consecrated, and to be united with the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Page 290. Sect. XXXIII.

But I see, what may be retorted to this our Opinion. In *Apostol. Constitut.* is known three Times after a Consecration made. *έτι προσφέρομεν σα,* we farther offer unto thee. And so (thus *Zephyrinus* could argue) an Oblation followed Consecration in the ancient Church, the Body and Blood of the Lord in the same were offered, which is the very self-same Sacrifice of the Mass. These Things are worthy, as I observe, to which exactly it should be answered, and indeed at the first, if after Consecration also the Gifts lying in open view have been offered, yet nothing other was offered then Bread and Wine, since the Essence of a Sacrament not upon a Consecration only, but upon the whole Act of a Sacrament, and Distribution also in the taking joined together according to the Words of Institution dependeth. Moreover what by *προσφέρομεν* can be understood, from the Context we must judge, where in the place of *προσφέρομεν* is *δέομεθα*

oramus we pray, beseech intreat, *rogamus* we ask, desire, require, pray, demand, also *indegeo* we want, *παρακαλέμεν* we exhort, advise, persuade; *αξιέμεν* we esteem or account worthy. *Zephyrinus* says indeed, this Signification of praying to be wholly contrary to the Voice *προσφέρειν* to offer, which how he can say, I see not, since Prayers themselves by the Ancients were named *προσφοραι* Offerings. He addeth the proper Signification of the Voice *προσφέρειν* to be retained so long, until by a certain Necessity we are driven to put into another's room that, which is fashioned. But if the Context persuades a fashioned, what then will be to be done? For I know not, why for the Church, Bishops, Ministers, a King, a City, the Catechumens, &c. only we must pray, but for Patriarchs, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, the People, Virgins, Widows, moderate Air and Fruitfulness of the Earth we must offer? Here I discern not clearly, what fit and solid can be answered, if in a proper signifying you should take the Voice *προσφέρειν*. Moreover if *προσφέρομεν* here should denote the Sacrifice of the Mass, we must suppose, what is not in the Text, that, which is offered, to be the Body and Blood of Christ. But nothing into the Text is to be added, if we would follow the Laws of Interpreting, then also it would be by far better, to fetch this supplying out of the Liturgy of *Chrysostom*, where *Ἐπι προσφέρομεν δος τὴν λογικὴν ταῦτα καὶ ἀναίματον λατρείαν*, yet still over and above we offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody Worship, and this *λατρείαν* consisteth in Prayers. For *λατρεία* is not a Sacrifice but Worship, nor by *λατρεία* doth *Chrysostom* understand *τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα* the Gifts lying in open View, as which he distinguishes from the same. Worship truly *Peter Arcudius* translateth of the Consent of Oriental and Western Church, L. III. C.

xxvi. f. 219. elsewhere Obedience. The more backward Translation pleased *Leo Allatius*, who yet addeth, *Cyträus* in an Oration of the State of the Churches in *Greece, Asia, Africa, &c.* foolishly to interpret $\lambda\alpha\lambda\pi\epsilon\alpha\nu$ of Prayers only, Praises, giving of Thanks and Alms, not of those Things, which might be offered to God, L. III. of the continual consenting of the Western and Eastern Church C. xv. §. ii. p. 1182. to wit, *Allatius* was accustomed to this Style, out of Measure rude and favouring of a wit greatly vulgar. Finally we may draw an explaining of the Word $\pi\rho\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\nu$ from Ch. xiii. following, for there what by this Word was marked out Ch. xii. is expressed by $\mu\nu\mu\mu\nu\nu\nu\nu$ to keep in memory, and $\delta\epsilon\theta\tilde{\eta}\nu\nu$ to pray: we will have in mind the holy Martyrs, that we may be esteemed worthy to be made Partakers of their tryal of Skill or Danger; for those refreshed in the Faith let us pray, for good temperateness in Cold and Heat of the Air and good fruit-bearing of the Fruit of Trees or of the Earth let us pray. These Things as I judge so decide this whole Controversy of the Voice $\pi\rho\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\nu$, that nothing found and exact can be retorted to the contrary. But what *Zephyrinus* adds, from this Oblation the Invocation of the Holy Spirit adjoined it is plain, it is not only Eucharistical, but also of obtaining by request Favours even as spiritual so also of temporal, why he would not ascribe that to Prayers rather than Oblation, I see not, since Prayers in like-manner be the Essence also of Oblation, neither can an outward Ceremony looked upon in itself obtain by request anything from God, neither also for that end can the Sacrament of the Eucharist be ordained, that good Disposition of the Air and plentifullness of all Kind of Fruit should by the same be obtained. Which since *Zephyrinus* grants, he himself divers times in one and the same

Page translates the Voice *προσφέρειν* by *precari* to pray. For in *Grecian* it is not *Ἐπι δεόμεθά σε καὶ ἀπέρτης εὐχαριστίας τὰς ἀέρας*, but *Ἐπι προσφέρομεν σοι.* Here it is to be added by us, an Oblation, which is made before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, after the same also is brought in remembrance, altho' already it be perfected. For so the Prayer finished, the Priest prays, That God the Gift offered, his Christ interceding, would receive into his heavenly Altar, for an Odour of Sweetness, that which also into the *Latin* Masses was removed †. *Zephyrinus* thinks these to intimate a proper Sacrifice, others a spiritual. These Things seem to suppose, 'a proper Altar not in Earths, from whence those Prayers which are uttered, and Gifts offered should be received upon a Heavenly Altar, that to God they may be acceptable and pleasant, as how the the Sacrifices of the Old Testament were well liked by him. Which all indeed nobody can deny has some favour of a Metaphor. Since in Heaven a proper Altar is not seen. But where a proper Altar is not, there is also not a proper Oblation, so, that all rather contrary may be drawn from the Text.

Page 206. Sect. XXXIX.

Now the Opinion of the Fathers being explained, who flourished the Three first Ages after Christ was

† For there, humbly praying we beg thee, omnipotent God, command these Things to be conducted quite through by the Hands of thy holy Angel into thy sublime Altar in the presence of the Divine Majesty; these Things are expressed otherwise in *Grecian* Words. For there in the place of ' by the Hands of thy holy Angel' is said *διατῆς μετατέίας τὰς χριστὰς*. by the Mediation of Christ. These teach, a Consecration only, after which these are brought out, do not perform a Real Presence, since Christ his Body and Blood, which also neither can be called *δῶρα* Gifts, cannot be said to conduct quite through to his heavenly Altar.

born, in declaring at length Faith of following Ages we may be shorter. For if it be manifest, there is not any Testimony of the repeated Oblation of the Body of Christ in those writings, which are older than the fourth Age, not in anywise it can be said, as I observe, a Sacrifice of the Mass delivered taught, either by Christ and his Apostles, or in the primitive Church to have been published abroad. But what concerneth ensuing Times, if from Liturgies only it liketh to decide the Matter, it will be certain not save Bread and Wine to have been offered, which in the following we will demonstrate. Yet there are, which we do not dissemble, who by all Labour strain to preserve to ourselves the Glory of Sincerity, of the Fathers, who lived in the fourth and following Ages, very many places, in which it is said, the Body and Blood of Christ to be offered, which although *καὶ μελῶντα*, according to a metonymy, a Figure putting one Name for another, as the cause and subject for the Effect and Adjunct, or *è contra*, they may be explained, and illustrated by not hurtful Interpretation, which may be fetched from the very Context of the Fathers, yet we will not perform that difficult Labour, both that we may avoid Length, and avoid all Suspicion, whereby it may be believed, we have set or placed these Things from a prejudiced Opinion. See Page 203.

There is also among *Grecians* *Cyrill* belonging to *Jerusalem*, who has given to us a Liturgy of the Ancient Church in Catechisings Interpreters of Mysteries; in the Vth Catechising almost the same Oblation is rehearsed, which is known in *Conſt. Apoft.* and above by us is viewed. For so there: By those spiritual Hymns sanctifying ourselves we pray the kind God, to send the Holy Spirit upon the Gifts set forth, that he may make the Bread

the Body of Christ, but Wine the Blood of Christ. For wholly, what the holy Spirit reacheth unto, that is sanctified and changed. But what here he calls by Name set forth to wit Gifts, those elsewhere he calls an exposed Sacrifice; when he says, " And afterwards for holy Fathers and Bishops dead, and all simply those amongst us dead believing the greatest Profit Pleasure to the Souls, for whom an humble Request is presented of this holy and much to be dreaded Sacrifice. So much as also after Consecration he accounts another Oblation of Signs or Tokens, which renders them changed into the Body and Blood of Christ." From these Words easily it lies open, which after those, which first of all we have assigned, he sets or places, from thence after the spiritual Sacrifice made perfect and absolute, the unbloody Worship, over the Sacrifice of Propitiation, we pray God for the common Peace of the Churches, and universally for all desiring Help we pray thee and offer to thee this Sacrifice. See p 178. The chief Oblation, &c. Nor can it be altogether denied, the Opinion of *Cyrill* to be nearest the Decrees of the *Roman Church*. Yet it is to be noted, other Fathers very much be of a contrary Opinion. For marvellously all hereto have varied, as many as speak of the Oblation of the Eucharist after the third Age slipped away, the very comparing of Places shew, which may be produced. For there are, who affirm the Sacrifice offered in the Eucharist to be the very Body and Blood of the Lord. And there are others who affirm Bread and Wine at least to be offered as a Representation of the Sacrifice of the Crofs, and often the same Fathers of this same Argument pronounce in divers manners. Now above we have spoke some Words, in which it is affirmed a Sacrifice of the Eucharist to be a bare Remembrance of the Sacrifice of the

Cross, among which also we have put a certain Axiom of *Chrysostom*, who yet elsewhere not obscurely hints in the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ to be slain and offered. That is to say, a Controversy of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist in that Time not yet forged, which now-a-days divides the Church, they spoke more securely, that therefore in both Parts their Testimonies may be brought. Howbeit of the *Greek Liturgies* something remains to be said. But they are various, and, what all almost now confess. The forged Liturgy of *James*, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Peter*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, not unlike a Liturgy which is known in Apostolical Constitutions. In a Liturgy of *James* an Oblation, which goes before Consecration, is so expressed: "We offer to thee, O Lord, this tremendous and not bloody Sacrifice." In a Liturgy of *Mark* in this Manner: "Thine out of thine own we have laid before thee," which most clearly prove, not save Bread and Wine offered, and this Oblation, if you behold the outward Action to be nothing other, than an applying and Proposition of Gifts to be consecrated, since Consecration at last follows those Words. Almost the same but more tedious are in a Liturgy of *Peter*: "We offer thine out of thine own to thy honourable Majest, of thine own Gifts and Presents a pure Sacrifice, a holy Sacrifice, a Sacrifice free from Blemish, holy Bread of eternal Life and Cup of eternal Salvation, over which vouchsafe to visit often with a favourable and reconciled Face:" All which in any wise can be said not save of only Bread and Wine. In a Liturgy of *Basil* before Consecration we read those Words: 'offering thine own out of thine own according to all Things and for all Things; and after a few Things: being confident we draw nigh to thy holy Altar and laying down the Anti-type

type of the holy Body and Blood of thy Christ, we pray thee." In a Liturgy ascribed to *Cyrill of Alexandria* in like manner an Oblation goes before Consecration, and Bread and Wine, which are put on the Altar, at least has an Eye unto. In a Liturgy of *Chrysostom* these are repeated: "Thine out of thine we offer according to all Things, and for all Things, yet still we offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody Worship." The same which follows the Invocation of Consecration. Howbeit an Oblation also follows this almost by the same Reason, which above we have observed in Apostolical Constitutions, that is to say of Prayers and also of Gifts of the Eucharist, if indeed all these you will resolve after Consecration again in Time past to have been offered, but yet so, that the Body and Blood of Christ no where can be said to be offered, since upon the Consecration only also the Presence of them depend not, or at least Antients may seem to have believed, they by offering the consecrated Gifts at least to offer Signs or Tokens of them, and which from *Latin* Liturgies presently to be rehearsed will lie open to the Eye. Otherwise, but since oriental Liturgies be translated from *Grecian*, and by Editors out of measure corrupted and furbished, of these more tediously to treat here, and from the same to explain a Ceremony of an Oblation it concerns not.

But three Oblations in the *Grecian* Church in the Administration of the Eucharist to be performed here it is to be noted. The first is $\delta\pi\phi\theta\sigma\iota$, in the Prothesis, where Breads to be consecrated with Wine are put on; and here presently a Sacrifice is perfected, for the Priest sacrificeth Bread in the manner of a Cross, saying, "The Lamb of God is sacrificed, who taketh away the Sins of the World;" that

which in Remembrance of Christ, the Bread not yet consecrated, is said to be. The second Oblation is of Gifts put upon the Altar with Prayers: “ Bless this Proposition and receive it upon thy heavenly Altar.” Neither can it be said this Oblation or Sacrifice to consist in mere Prayers. For although in a Liturgy of *Chrysostom* δέοσις an humble Request be called a Sacrifice of Praise, howbeit Gifts especially are called spiritual Sacrifices, *offerenda* ὑμέρτων ἡμέρων ἀμαρτημάτων, to be offered for our Sins. The third Oblation is perfected by the Words, which we have mentioned: “ We offer to thee thine of thine.” All which not yet the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ, which is given out to be made in the ancient Church, intimate.

Pfaff. p. 330.

F I N I S.

ERRATA & ADDENDA.

Page 7. line 7. read **וּמְחַלֵּא**. P. 18. l. 11. r. even from six Days from the Beginning, that they may be put into Bodies which should be created. P. 28. l. 4. r. **מִפְנָנוּ**. P. 29. l. 27. r. Bodies not yet. P. 34. l. 23. r. *Chaion, and dele sc.* P. 40. l. penult. r. a Body is. P. 64. l. 21. r. or if of Gehenna. P. 86. l. 21. r. **בְּגָנָךְ**. P. 87. l. 18. r. there are. P. 89. l. 17. r. that it. P. 119. l. penult. r. this Day. P. 120. l. 11. r. Deserts. L. 16. r. Speech of the Country. L. 18. r. **סְעוֹדָה**. P. 136. l. 17. r. **הַקְבִּלה**. P. 139. l. 27. *dele* **תְּ**. P. 140. l. 6. r. **יְ**. P. 145. l. 14. r. **הַמְזֹבֵחַ**. L. 24. r. **שְׁפָחִינוּ**. P. 148. l. 28. r. Theophylactus. P. 153. l. 25. r. Oblation. P. 160. l. 19. r. Theophylact. P. 171. l. 31. r. riseth up. P. 213. l. 12. *dele* might. P. 225. l. 18. r. Controversy is. P. 250. l. 15. r. aliud. P. 268. l. 28. r. then despised. P. 270. l. penult. r. Cleomides. P. 279. l. 31. r. Facts.

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